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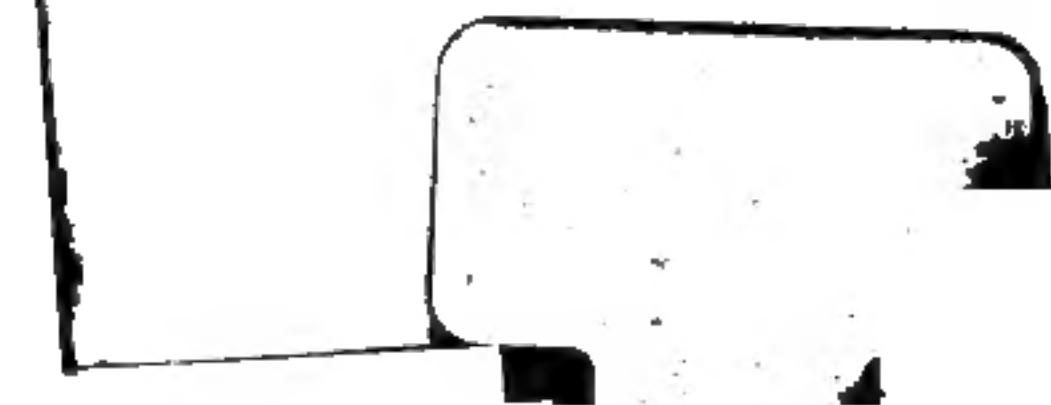
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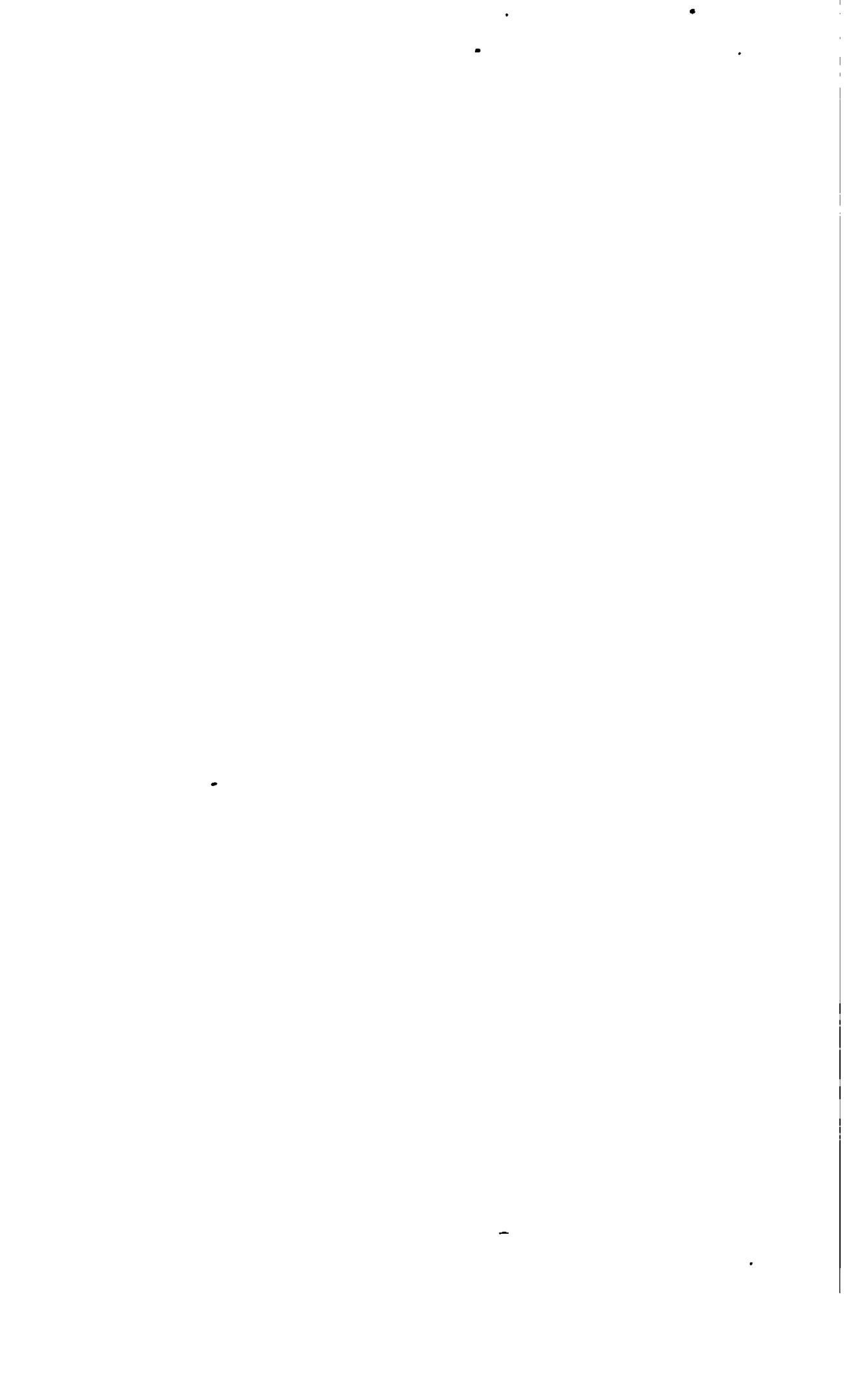
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**HISTORY
OF THE
CIVIL WARS OF IRELAND.**



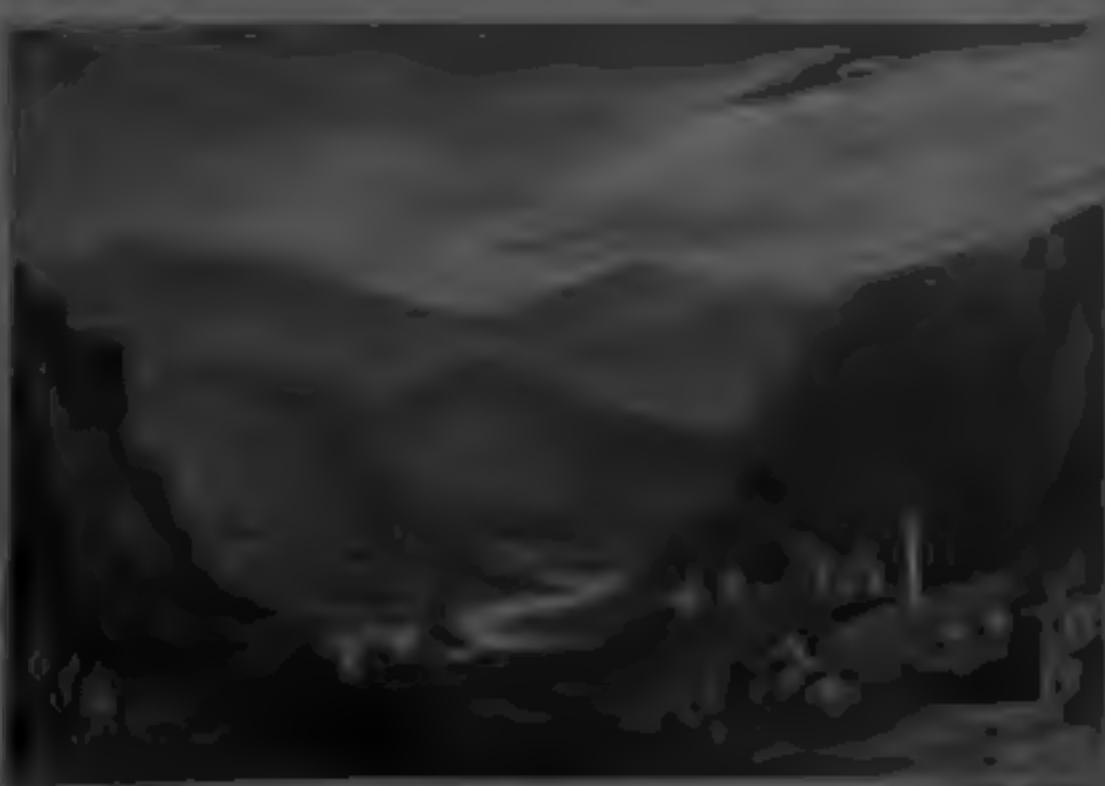
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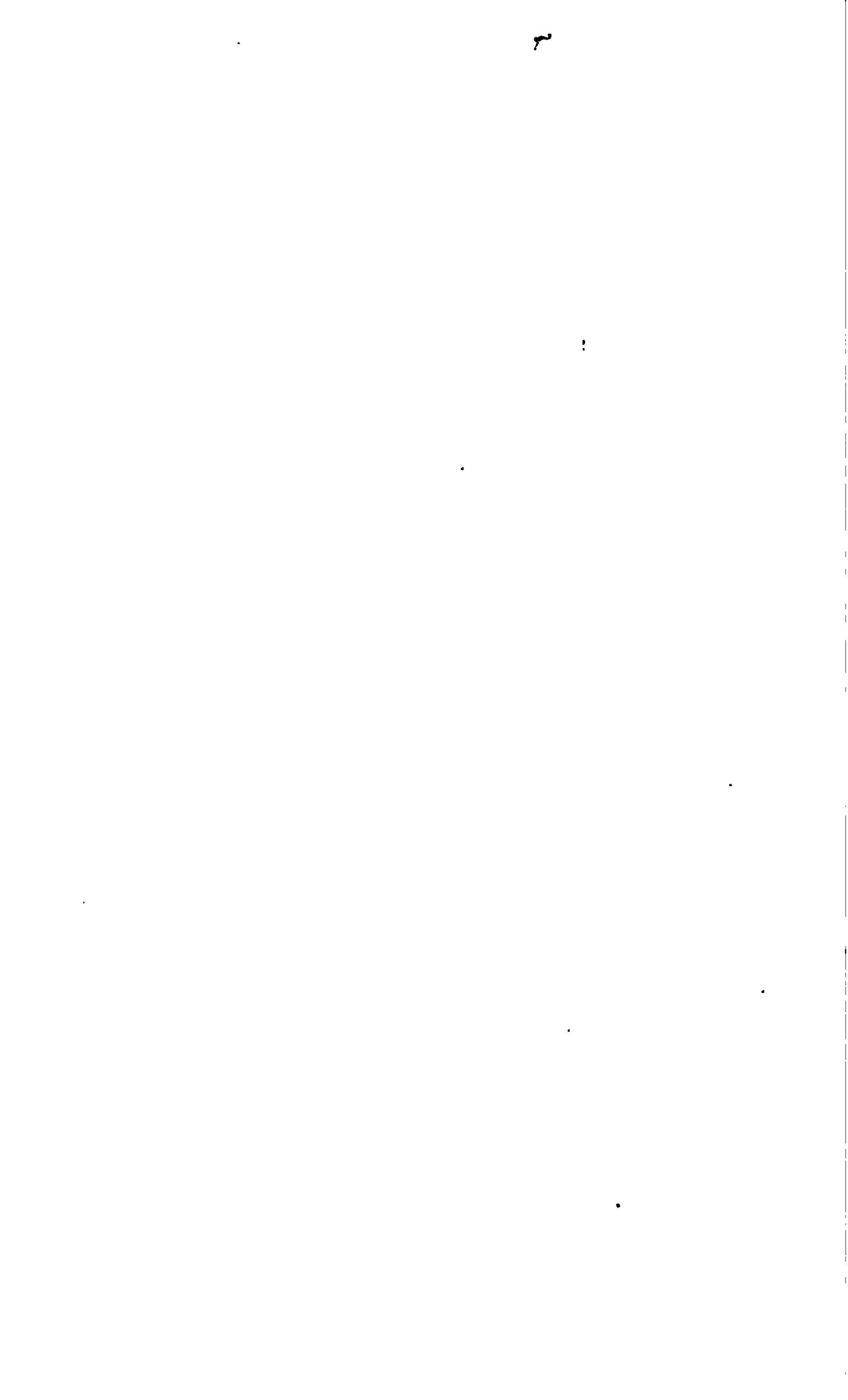
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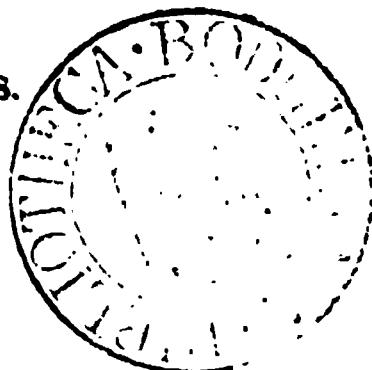


HISTORY
OF THE
CIVIL WARS OF IRELAND,
FROM THE ANGLO-NORMAN INVASION, TILL
THE UNION OF THE COUNTRY WITH
GREAT BRITAIN.

BY W. C. TAYLOR, Esq. A.B.
OF TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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P R E F A C E.

THE History of Ireland, from the period of the Anglo-Norman invasion, presents a series of anomalies not to be paralleled in the annals of any other European country. Even now, after the lapse of nearly seven centuries, the suspicious jealousy of foreign rule remains as strong as at the first arrival of the invaders. The Government obtains at best a sullen and reluctant obedience. The laws are viewed as institutions framed exclusively for the benefit of a ruling party, and not for the general advantage of the nation. England and France, when first subjugated by the Teutonic tribes, suffered more severely than Ireland ;—William and Clovis were more unprincipled leaders than the second Henry ;—their followers more cruel and rapacious than the companions of Strongbow and Fitz-Stephen ; but, in these countries, the age of oppression and suffering passed away. The Saxons and Normans coalesced. The Gauls were united with the Franks. The victors

and the vanquished became one people, having common feelings and common interests. Ireland is the only country in which the condition of the conquered has not been ameliorated, and where the separate interest of two distinct races is still maintained, as if its subjugation was but a thing of yesterday.

The evils that have flowed from this disunion, and the dangers which it still threatens, are universally acknowledged; but there is not the same unanimity in assigning the cause of its continuance. On this subject the theories are as numerous as the writers; and each is supported with a fierceness and violence unusual even in the most furious political warfare. The blame of the long catalogue of ills under which Ireland has suffered, we find alternately cast on the British and on the local government;—on the churches of Rome and of England;—on the successive oligarchies that controlled the destinies of the country, and on the several factions by which they were opposed;—on the oppressions of magistrates, and on the artifices of demagogues;—and on a thousand other causes, potent enough, collectively to produce considerable mischief, but, separately, insufficient to account for that vast amount of evil to which the country has been subjected. An impartial inquirer might be led to surmise, that blame in different degrees belonged to all the parties enumerated; and a careful investigation would confirm his

suspicion. But when he proceeds to apportion to each their several shares of censure, he must prepare to encounter the most virulent opposition. At variance in every other respect, the several political partisans, who have written on Irish history, are wondrously unanimous in one principle—each maintaining, that there was nothing wrong on the side which he chose to advocate, and that there was nothing right in the opposite.

The application of this creed greatly simplifies the historical judgment of Irishmen. All questions finally resolve themselves into the single topic of *party*. The name of rebel or patriot, and loyalist or oppressor, is given without further inquiry; and all difficulties are thus settled in a moment. This compendious, but not very accurate mode of forming opinions, is strengthened by the absurd and mischievous sophism, that identity of name proves identity of character. There is no sophism by which men are more deceived—there is no part of the globe where it is more prevalent than in Ireland. The Roman Catholic feels himself personally wounded by the historian who faithfully describes the blasphemous insolence with which the Pope transferred to a foreigner the sovereignty over a free people, and the base cupidity shown by the Irish prelates, in bartering their country's independence for wealth and privilege. The zealous Protestant is offended,

when the ignorance and indolence of the clergy sent over by Henry VIII. and Elizabeth are portrayed ; and will equally be displeased with him who describes the ferocious fanaticism of Cromwell's Puritans, and the more crafty intolerance of their successors. Frequently must the writer of Irish history feel the truth of the complaint made by the venerable Bede, “ *Dura est enim conditio historiographorum : Quia si veradicant homines provocant, si falsa scripturis commendant, Dominus qui veridos ab adulatoribus sequestrat, non acceptat.* ”

Unconnected with any of the parties by which his native country is distracted—reverencing many individuals ranged on opposite sides—persuaded that rancour would be abated, if the different parties were acquainted with the true feelings and principles of their opponents—the writer of these volumes has no motive to disguise truth—no interest in inventing virtues or concealing vices. It is not easy to execute a task where the occasions for censure are numerous, and for commendation few, without provoking the hostility of those who are bigoted to a partial and uncandid view of transactions. To blame the government, will probably be deemed advocacy of treason, and censure of the people be termed justification of oppression. The violent Roman Catholic may call the author an Orangeman ; while the equally violent Protestant may stigmatize

him as a Papist. He condescends not to refute either. Let them war against the perpetrators of the crimes of which they are ashamed, and not against the person by whom they are narrated.

There is a part of the First Chapter which needs some apology, as it will probably give offence to a very innocent, but not a very wise portion of the community—the believers in the authenticity of early Irish history. The author shelters himself under the sanction of Niebuhr, who has impeached the credibility of Livy and Dionysius, though either authority is a thousand times more valuable than the dreaming monks, and adulatory sennachies, whose stories have been collected by Keating and O'Flaherty. It would be an insult to the understanding of Englishmen, if a writer should now seriously refute the tale of Brute the Trojan. It ought to be equally unnecessary to examine such idle tales as those which grave writers in Ireland still maintain as genuine traditions. But it is surely pardonable, that a true lover of his country should be allowed to turn from her authentic annals of blood and crime, to refresh his saddened mind in those regions of romance which fancy has peopled with fairy images of harmony, tranquillity, and civilization. Still, such reveries are sometimes used for a mischievous purpose; and the assertion, that Ireland owes all her misery to English connection—an assertion as false as it is

pernicious—has been made too frequently to be passed over without examination.

The following work may be considered as divided into six periods of unequal duration. The first contains the formation of the English connection, and includes the time from Strongbow's invasion to the death of Henry II. The second period is occupied by the baronial wars, which deteriorated the English interest, until the sovereignty was merely nominal ; and spreads over all the reigns between Henry II. and Henry VIII. The third commences with the accession of that monarch, and contains the detail of the struggle for re-establishing and extending the English supremacy, which was completed by Elizabeth and James I. The fourth is occupied by the great civil war of 1641, and its various revolutions, until the passing of the Act of Settlement. The fifth contains the wars between James II. and his son-in-law William, until the restoration of tranquillity by the treaty of Limerick. And the sixth, brings the history down to the Act of Union, at the commencement of the present century.

It does not become a writer to speak of the merits of his work ; but he may be permitted to assert the purity of his intentions. The author can safely say, that truth has been his only object ; that, amidst the conflicting statements of historians, he has always selected that which was supported by the best

authorities ; that he has, in almost every instance, consulted the original records, and made no assertion which they did not fully support. He is aware that he cannot please all parties, and he has not laboured to flatter any. He may be maligned and misrepresented ; but, feeling that he has at least performed his task honestly, he can console himself, under calumny, by the approbation of his own conscience.



THE
HISTORY
OF THE
CIVIL WARS OF IRELAND.

CHAPTER I.

Ancient History of Ireland—Political Condition of the Country at the Time of the Anglo-Norman Invasion.

THE pretensions of the Irish to an antiquity more remote than that of other Europeans, and their claims of being descended from the most powerful and enlightened of the Eastern nations, have been attacked and defended with a zeal and vigour beyond the laws of literary controversy. In this contest, the cause of Irish history has suffered far more from the extravagant claims of its advocates, than from the fiercest assaults of its opponents. The suspicious particularity of the more remote incidents, and the still more suspicious coincidence of the epochs with the received system of chronology, are gravely quoted as proofs of genuine anti-

quity, while, in fact, they are decisive evidences of falsification. The materials from whence the historians have compiled their narratives, were the songs of the bards, the genealogies of the sennachies, and the popular legends current in their day; and it is manifest that such records must have been replete with errors and defects, and, above all things, must have contained little or no reference to dates and eras. The monks of Ireland, in the middle ages, seem to have surpassed their brethren of Britain in the art of fabricating history. The latter went no higher than the days of Brute the Trojan; but the former boldly ascended to the days of Adam, and brought his grand-daughter to Ireland with a numerous colony, before the primitive race had yet degenerated into crime. The intervention of the deluge might have been supposed to throw some difficulties in the way of this hopeful legend; but for this a remedy was easily provided—one fortunate individual was saved in the western world, to relate the circumstances of that great event to the next band of colonists who arrived in the country. The new settlers could boast of an origin equally illustrious: they were Greeks, under the guidance of Partholanus, whose genealogy from Noah is traced with edifying accuracy. After this, several new tribes arrive from places equally illustrious; but their fame is absorbed in the superior glory of the Milesian colony, whose arrival in Ireland is dated previous to the Argonautic expedition; that is, before Greece had even a traditional history! The history of the Milesians before their arrival in Ireland, is detailed at length in the Irish legends. They were, it appears, a Phoenician branch of the vast Scythic nation, to which the greatest re-

volutions in ancient and modern times have been generally ascribed. Phenius, the chief legislator of the tribe, having invented letters, and some important arts of civilized life, acquired great fame in the neighbouring nations, and the Egyptian king sent ambassadors to his court. Niul, the son of Phenius, progenitor of the O'Neill family, was sent with a numerous train to return the compliment, and so highly pleased Pharaoh, that he obtained his daughter in marriage, and a fertile tract on the banks of the Egyptian river as her dowry. From him the river Nile takes its name; and from him Egypt derived all that knowledge which in subsequent ages entitled her to be named the parent of civilization. Shortly after this the Exodus occurred; and the Phœnicians treated the departing Israelites with so much generosity, that the silence of Moses on the subject is a matter perfectly unaccountable. The Egyptians who survived the calamity of the Red Sea, were indignant at the kindness shown to the Israelites. They expelled the Phœnicians from their territories; and, after a long course of wandering, in which they successively established themselves in Crete, in Africa, and in Spain, they at last landed in Erin, bringing to that favoured country the knowledge of letters, and the elements of civilization, long before Greece had emerged from barbarism, or Italy received the arts of social life. When attempts are made to impose such a wild romance as this on the world for history, it is no wonder that the whole mass of the Irish annals should be rejected with disgust, and that the few important truths which are mixed up with a mass of similar fictions, should share in the merited condemnation such legends must inevitably meet.

There is really no authentic history of Ireland before the introduction of Christianity into the country ; but there are some genuine traditions which appear to be based in truth, because they accord with and explain the peculiar customs which were found to prevail in the island at the time of the English invasion. These traditions declare, that the original Celtic inhabitants were subdued by an Asiatic colony, or at least by the descendants of some Eastern people, at a very remote period : they aver, that the conquerors were as inferior to the original inhabitants in numbers, as they were superior in military discipline and the arts of social life : they describe the conquest as a work of time and trouble ; and assert, that, after its completion, a hereditary monarchy and a hereditary aristocracy were for the first time established in Ireland. It has been judiciously remarked by Faber, that, " in the progress of the human mind, there is an invariable tendency not to introduce into an undisturbed community a palpable difference between lords and serfs, instead of a legal equality of rights ; but to abolish such difference by enfranchising the serfs. Hence, from the universal experience of history, we may be sure that, whenever this distinction is found to exist, the society must be composed of two races of men differing from each other in point of origin." We shall soon show that such a distinction prevailed in Ireland ; and shall now only add, that the original difference between the successive settlers in the country is not even yet effaced. The blue eyes, flaxen hair, and fair complexion of the peasantry on the eastern coast and in the midland districts, shows that they are a different race from the dark-visaged, black-haired inhabitants of the south-western counties. Besides the uniform tradition, that

the Milesian colonists were of Asiatic origin, there are many customs still preserved in Ireland, plainly derived from some Eastern source. The forms of salutation, the Beltane fires, manifestly derived from the former prevalence of solar worship, and the feastings and cries at funerals, so completely coincide with the descriptions of Asiatic manners given by all travellers ancient and modern, that it is difficult to refuse assent to the traditionary account of the Milesian origin. Those unaccountable edifices, the round towers of Ireland, are frequently quoted in proof of this theory ; and certainly the most plausible account given of them is, that they were erected for the purpose of fire-worship. But this is a subject involved in hopeless obscurity, and cannot consequently afford much additional strength to our previous arguments.

The state of society in Ireland, the form of government, and the tenure of land previous to the Anglo-Norman invasion, are subjects of much more importance than the origin of the nation ; for, without a previous investigation of these matters, much of the subsequent history of the country would be scarcely intelligible. The attachment of the Irish to their ancient usages, and the eager desire of the first invaders to adopt these institutions, was the primary source of the greatest evils by which the country was afflicted ; and, notwithstanding the many changes of rule and chances of time which have occurred in Ireland, their pernicious consequences are felt at the present hour.

At some unknown period, Ireland was divided by the Milesian conquerors into five kingdoms, Ulster, Leinster, Connaught, Munster, and Meath ; the latter was at a subsequent, but equally uncertain age.

considered as the peculiar property of the paramount sovereign. It is impossible to determine at what time the entire island was first united under a single monarch. Neither is the inquiry of any importance ; for the authority of the Lord Paramount was merely nominal, unless he had the good fortune to possess sufficient forces in his hereditary dominions to ensure obedience.

These kingdoms were again subdivided into several principalities, inhabited by distinct septs, each ruled by its own *carfinny* or chieftain. The obedience of these local rulers or toparchs to the provincial sovereign, was regulated like his to the general monarch, by the powers that he possessed for enforcing his authority. Each petty lord presided over the administration of justice in his own dominion, and possessed, or at least exercised, the right of making war and peace with his neighbours at his pleasure.

The succession to every degree of sovereignty was regulated by the law of Tanistry, which limited hereditary right to the family, but not to the individual. The chiefs could only be selected from noble houses ; but there was not an individual of each royal or noble family that might not become a candidate for the office of tanist or chieftain-elect. The love of offspring might probably have induced the toparchs to limit the right of succession to their immediate descendants, had it not been the custom to elect the tanist immediately after the accession of the chief ; and the interest which procured his designation, would of course be sufficient to secure his right of inheritance. This pernicious custom was productive of unmixed misery. Every election of tanist was necessarily productive of party-feuds, which rarely terminated without bloodshed. The chiefs looked

with jealous eyes on those who only waited for their deaths to attain the rank of princes ; and the tanists, conscious of these suspicions, frequently endeavoured to accelerate the moment of their elevation by open war or secret assassination. In the list of 178 monarchs of the Milesian line enumerated by the Irish historians, only 47 died natural deaths, 71 were slain in battle, and 60 murdered. It may indeed be said, and with some truth, that this list is a fabrication ; but it was probably composed by combining the genealogies of several provincial monarchs, whose pride was flattered by the notion that their ancestors ruled the entire island ; and at all events, it shows the proportion between violent changes and peaceful successions in the opinion of the native historians themselves.

Each district was deemed the common property of the entire sept ; but the distribution of the several shares was intrusted to the toparch. The cultivators had, consequently, no property in the soil, and were little interested in improving it by cultivation. The tanist alone was assigned an inalienable portion of mesne land ; all the others were tenants at the will of the toparch, and removable without the formality of a notice. The accession of every chief, the death of a large proprietor, the reception of a new member into the sept, and the banishment of any who had displeased the chief, usually produced a new division of land, which kept property in a state of constant fluctuation ; and the custom of inheritance by gavelkind, extended and perpetuated the evil. The gavelkind of Ireland and Wales differed, in several important particulars, from that which still prevails in some parts of England. By the Irish custom, females were absolutely excluded

from all right of inheritance ; and no distinction was made between legitimate and illegitimate children. The lower orders were divided into freemen and *betages*, * or, as they were called by the Normans, *villains*. The former had the privilege of choosing their tribe ; the latter were bound to the soil, and transferred with it in any grant or deed of sale.

These institutions † are manifestly inconsistent with

* In the grants of land made for the support of monasteries by the Irish monarchs, the Betags or Betages are expressly named, and the property in them transferred together with the land.

† The nature of the Irish tenure and law of Tanistry is very clearly laid down in an inquisition taken at Mallow, on the 25th October 1594, before Sir T. Norris, Vice-President of Munster, W. Saxy, Esq., and J. Gould, Esq., justices of said province, by virtue of a commission from the Lord Deputy and Council, dated the preceding 26th of June. It is found, among other things, “ That Conogher O’Callaghan, *alias* the O’Callaghan, was and is seized of several large territories in the inquisition recited in his demesne, as lord and chieftain of Poble Callaghan, by the Irish custom, time out of mind used ; that as O’Callaghan aforesaid is lord of the said country, so there is a tanist, by custom of said country, who is Teig O’Callaghan, and the said Teig is seized as tanist, by the said custom, of several plough-lands in the inquisition mentioned, which also finds that the custom is further, that every kinsman of the O’Callaghan had a parcel of land to live upon, and yet that no estate passed thereby ; but that the lord and the O’Callaghan for the time being, by custom time out of mind, may remove the said kinsmen to other lands ; and the inquisition further finds, that O’Callaghan MacDermot, Irrelagh O’Callaghan, Teig MacCahir O’Callaghan, Donogh MacThomas O’Callaghan, Conohor Genagh O’Callaghan, Dermot Bane O’Callaghan, and Shane MaoTeig O’Callaghan, were seized of several plough-lands, according to the said custom, subject, nevertheless, to certain seigniories and duties payable to the O’Callaghan, and that they were removable by him to other lands at his pleasure.

the high degree of civilization which the Irish historians describe in such glowing colours. Where the great majority of the people could not possess landed property, and where the circumstances of the country prevented the accumulation of commercial wealth, the elements of comfort and greatness were wanting. There could have been no money, no trade, no manufactures, and there could have been no towns whose municipal privileges might have restrained the despotic power of the toparchs. The cities of Dublin, Limerick and Waterford, found in the country by the Normans, at the time of the invasion, if not originally built by the Danes, at least owed all their greatness and celebrity to that maritime people.

But though this state of society appears to modern writers replete with so much evil, it had many attractions for a people such as the Irish were at that day, and such as they continue at present. With few and simple wants, reckless of danger, ardent speculators, full of buoyant spirits, eager for any new enterprise, however culpable or dangerous, their best and their worst qualities were equally gratified by a system, which flattered their vanity and supplied objects for their ambition. Eligibility to the office of Tanist being common to every man of noble birth, it became the interest of the nobility to conciliate the affections of the people; and this produced a connexion, not the less intimate because the hustings became frequently fields of battle. The law of gavelkind offered to every individual the hope of that great object of every Irishman's ambition, *a bit of land*; and though the tenure was insecure and uncertain, Irishmen then, as now, lite-

rally fulfilled the precept, of “ taking no thought for the morrow.”

The customs of *fostering* and *gossipred* drew closer the links that bound the lords to their vassals. The sons of the nobility were invariably nursed by the wives of the tenantry, and the associations thus formed were esteemed ties fully as binding as those of nature. On the other hand, the nobles became name-fathers to the children of their favourites, and were thus supposed to establish a claim to filial, rather than feudal obedience. It is amusing to find, that these innocent and interesting customs were denounced as high treason, by the statute of Kilkenny, in the reign of Edward III., because they were deemed the greatest support of the overgrown power of the Irish aristocracy.

The administration of justice was regulated by the Brehon law, which is said to have been formed into a code at a very early period. Its most remarkable feature was the almost total absence of capital punishment; for every offence, even for murder, a pecuniary mulct, called an *eric*, was provided; but the friends of the deceased were rarely satisfied with such a compensation, and deadly feuds were consequently multiplied.* The office of Brehon, or

* The following copy of a Brehon's decree will probably interest the reader:—

“ These be the allegations and challenges I have in the behalf of Donagh MacSeayn and Teig MacFynyne, against Cahall O'Connor and his people, viz. That Cahall O'Connor, together with his people, came forcibly to the land of the said Donagh, and seized upon a prey belonging to him, and have taken away with them [] cowes of the said prey, and have also taken with them the said Donagh and Teig prisoners, and the rest of the prey being taken from the said Cahall against his will: but having beaten, bruised, and deadly wound-

judge, was hereditary in certain families ; and, by a custom which seems to have been derived immediately from the East, all honourable professions were similarly limited.

The first introduction of Christianity into Ireland is a subject involved in impenetrable obscurity. The tradition which ascribes the conversion of the island to Saint Patrick, though generally received, is not worthy of implicit credit ; and the romantic narratives of the Saint's adventures are a mere compilation of extravagant fictions. It would be, however, an excess of scepticism, to follow Dr Ledwich in denying the Saint's existence altogether ; but the precise period of his mission, and the extent of his success, must remain uncertain. There is, however, satisfactory evidence, that the form of Christianity established in Ireland, as well as in Britain, resembled that of the Eastern churches, rather than that which Rome had adopted. In such matters of discipline—as the form of clerical tonsure, the time of celebrating Easter, and the celibacy of the clergy—this difference between the Hibernian and Roman churches might seem of little importance ; but they were at issue on more important topics. The ecclesiastical constitution of Ireland was completely at variance with the model which the Roman See was anxious to establish ; and several doctrines, con-

ed the said Donagh and Teig, therefore I say, that they came with intent to kill the said Donagh and Teig, and that they shall have remedy and release as if they had been killed, in regard the said Donagh and Teig never submitted themselves to the mercy of the said Cahall and his people, but escaped (escaped) by their own valour and assistance, as by the law in that behalf appeareth, which is *in haec verba.*" (The words of the law are not quoted.)—*Hardman's Irish Deeds*, p. 26.

denmed in the Papal councils, were vigorously maintained by the Irish clergy.

The bishops, in the primitive church of Ireland, were as numerous as the parishes. They paid no canonical obedience to a foreign head ; they bequeathed frequently their pastoral charge to their children ; and generally held their Sees at the pleasure of their chieftain. They also possessed not any of the lordly privileges which the Continental prelates enjoyed. It was not until the eighth century, that they were exempted from military service ; and they always remained subject to taxation, and to the jurisdiction of the ordinary tribunals.

The Irish church also provoked the hostility of the pontiffs, by its adherence to the doctrines of Pelagius, and the share it took in the controversy of "the three chapters." Jerome, whose right to the title of Saint assuredly rests not on his moderation, assails the entire Irish nation for its supposed heresy, with a virulence surpassing the ordinary bounds of theological controversy. He even asserts, that the Irish were cannibals, and that he had himself seen a party of them eat a child in Gaul ; forgetting, as the jesuit Slainhurst wisely remarks, to account for the permission they obtained to commit such a crime in the country, which was then the chief seat of orthodoxy. The controversy of "the three chapters," which once agitated the entire of Christendom, is now consigned to oblivion. It seems, that the Council of Chalcedon had tacitly approved the writings of three Eastern prelates, which were supposed to favour the Nestorian heresy. The Roman synod took a different view of the matter, and condemned the chapters in no very measured terms. The Irish unanimously supported the authority of the Council ;

and, as we are informed by Baronius, attributed the calamities, by which Italy happened to be afflicted, to the fatal heresy of the Papacy.

The Irish clergy, though deficient in orthodoxy, were honourably conspicuous for their learning, zeal, and piety. Their missionaries travelled into the neighbouring heathen countries, not like the papal legates, with all the pride, pomp, and circumstance of imperial ambassadors ; but like their predecessors the apostles, in the garb of unaffected poverty, with the words of persuasion on their lips, and the gospel of everlasting peace in their hands. The pious labours of Columb-kill and Columbanus, if they were really different persons, are to this hour justly the boast of the Irish nation ; though, unfortunately, the ecclesiastical system which produced numbers of men animated with similar zeal has long since perished.

The invasions of the Franks, the Saxons, and other barbarians, seconded by the dark intrigues of the Romish See and its partisans among the clergy, destroyed the primitive churches which had been established in Gaul and Britain. The persecuted clergy and those of their flocks who were anxious to maintain the independence of their national churches, either fled, or were forced into a reluctant submission. The Irish generously offered to the fugitives a safe asylum ; thither came all those whom barbarous violence and Roman ambition had driven from their homes. The unfortunate Britons, in particular, threatened with extirpation by the Saxons, fled to the sister-island, and spread such a horror of the violence they had suffered, that the Irish to this day call their invaders by the odious name of Saxons. During the sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries, Ireland was pro-

verbially the chief seat of piety and learning. True, the learning of the period was confined to a very limited range of subjects, and, even such as it was, monopolized by the clergy : still, the respect shown to information, and the ardour exhibited for literary distinction, produced beneficial effects which extended far beyond the circle of those who enjoyed the immediate fruits.

The invasion of the Danes in the ninth century, reduced Ireland to the same miserable condition as those countries for whose calamities she had shown such generous sympathy. Though these piratic hordes were not numerous, they obtained extraordinary success in a country distracted by internal commotions, where each sept rejoiced in the depression of its rival, and where the feelings of nationality were lost in the virulence of party-spirit. As the Danes came into Ireland from the East, they called themselves Eastmen, or Ostmen, just as in France they took the name of Northmen, or Normans. They first confined themselves to mere predatory expeditions ; soon after they erected castles, or seized on towns near the shore, to shelter their booty ; until, at length, encouraged by their own success, and the dissensions of the natives, they resolved to attempt the conquest of the entire island. Early in the ninth century, this was effected by Turgesius, a monarch distinguished by great abilities, and greater depravity. After a brief reign of cruelty and lust, Turgesius was murdered by the contrivance of a petty prince whose daughter he designed to seduce ; and in the general revolt which ensued, the power of the Ostmen was completely overthrown. But the private feuds of the Irish princes rescued the Ostmen from total destruc-

tion ; and, retaining possession of the seaports, they soon became formidable, though they never regained their former supremacy of the country.

In the beginning of the eleventh century, a majority of the Irish determined to make a great national effort against the invaders : the nominal Lord Paramount of the island, Malachi King of Meath, was deposed, and the sovereignty transferred to the celebrated Brian Boiromhe, whose administration of his provincial kingdom had raised it to the highest rank among the surrounding states. During a reign of ten years, Brian ruled the country in tranquillity ; the Danish settlers purchased safety by becoming tributary, and the feuds of the Irish princes were checked by the vigour and prudence of the monarch. But the spirit of faction, though quelled, was not extinguished ; the partisans of the deposed monarch secretly meditated a new revolution ; and their projects were favoured by many who viewed with jealousy the elevation of a rival tribe. A trivial circumstance kindled these materials of discord into a flame. Murchard, the eldest son of Brian, incalculably reproached Maolmordha, King of Leinster, for his former treacherous connection with the Danes, and so irritated the vindictive passions of the haughty prince, that he determined to purchase revenge, even at the price of his country's ruin. An alliance was soon formed between the King of Leinster, and the Danish colony of Dublin. Auxiliaries were summoned from Norway, and the northern islands ; emissaries were sent to stimulate the discontented princes into rebellion ; and Brian, now in the extremity of old age, found himself involved in a contest more fearful than any he had hitherto experienced. The monarch, however, proved himself equal to the emer-

gency ; he summoned to his standard all the princes who owed him obedience, and collected together his hereditary forces, on whom alone he saw that implicit reliance could be placed. The battle, which for the time decided the fate of Ireland, was fought on the plains of Clontarf, now a pretty village near Dublin. The engagement commenced on the morning of Good Friday, A. D. 1014, a circumstance which added religious enthusiasm to the patriotic zeal of the Irish, for the Danes had not been as yet converted to Christianity. At the very moment that battle was joined, Malachi, King of Meath, withdrew his forces, leaving Brian with only his own provincial army to withstand the overwhelming numbers of the enemy. The soldiers of Munster were not, however, disconcerted ; they had with them in the field every member of the royal house, to which they were passionately attached ; for the King brought with him to the battle his five sons, his grandson, and his fifteen nephews. The conflict lasted the entire day ; but at length the valour of the Irish prevailed. The traitor Maolmordha, with his chief associates, were slain. His followers immediately broke their lines and fled ; and the Danes were driven, with dreadful slaughter, to their ships and the gates of Dublin. But this success was dearly purchased. Brian was slain, while praying in his tent, by a wandering party of the enemy ; his son Murchard, with the best and bravest of the Irish nobility, fell in the arms of victory ; and the gallant sept of the Dalgais, Brian's own tribe, was almost annihilated. With Brian perished the glory, the tranquillity, and the prosperity of his country. Ireland no longer existed as a nation, but was broken up into a number of independent sovereignties, animated by the

most rancorous mutual hostility. “ There was no longer a king in the land. Every man did that which was right in his own eyes.” From this period to the Anglo-Norman invasion, the annals of Ireland record little more than a series of intestine wars begun for some petty object, and concluded without any remarkable consequence. A new invasion of the Danes, under the guidance of Magnus, King of the Isle of Man, is indeed stated to have been repelled ; but how deplorable must the condition of the country have been, when the King of Man would venture to invade it with the hopes of conquest ! The evils produced by this long unvarying scene of civil discord, predisposed the Irish princes to submit to the power of the Norman prince. They felt the necessity of possessing a sovereign ruler ; and they knew, by bitter experience, that mutual jealousy and ancient rivalry would render the government of any native prince equally insecure and inefficient.

CHAPTER II.

The Causes and Occasion of the Anglo-Norman Invasion.

THE establishment of the Anglo-Norman dynasty in Ireland, was but a part of that great system by which the Papal supremacy was enabled to prevail over the national churches of Western Europe. Henry came to Ireland as the deputy of the Pope. To establish his spiritual authority was the avowed object of the expedition; and on the Papal gift alone did the Norman monarch rest his claim to the sovereignty of the country. By a very rare coincidence, the zealous Protestant and Catholic writers of Irish history have agreed in suppressing this important fact. The former were unwilling to acknowledge that their ascendancy, which they justly identified with English connexion, was derived from the great object of their fear and hatred; the latter, equally attached to their country and their religion, were disinclined to confess that their spiritual head had destroyed their national church, and given the dominion over their native land to a stranger, in order to extend his own power. The contest between patriotic spirit, and habitual submission to the Roman pontiff, is evident in some of the writings of the earlier Irish historians: they zealously contend for the piety

and purity of their national church ; but, when they labour to identify its doctrines with Romanism, they are sorely at a loss to account for the harsh epithets given to the Irish clerical establishment by the Popes and their authorized advocates.

The power of the Roman See had acquired additional strength by every revolution caused by the successive immigrations of the Northern barbarians. The pontiffs deemed the ignorant pagans more hopeful subjects for the bold experiment of establishing their supremacy than the Christians of Gaul, Britain and Erin, who were zealously attached to the independence of their national churches. They therefore uniformly supported the cause of the invaders, conciliated their leaders by giving them extravagant titles, and presenting them with rich dresses, whose unusual splendour attracted their admiration, and gratified their vanity. The Franks were encouraged in their warfare against the Gauls, the Goths, and the Burgundians ; because, after the conversion of Clovis, they readily adopted whatever creed his Holiness thought fit to dictate ; and the former possessors of the country were sentenced to utter ruin because they were heretics, or at least schismatics. The Goths were accused of Arianism ; the Britons were said to have adopted the errors of Pelagius ; and paganism itself was declared preferable to such abominable heresies. Many of the bishops in the devoted nations aided the machinations of the Roman pontiffs ; they were eager to become spiritual princes, and to share in those privileges and immunities which Rome claimed for the Episcopal character. Foreign violence was thus aided by domestic treason ; and the Papal authority was established in France and England by the swords of the Franks and the battle-axes

of the Saxons. But no opportunity of reducing Ireland to obedience was afforded. The successors of Augustine in the see of Canterbury vainly sent embassies to the island ; their authority was spurned, their threats derided, and they were left to vent their indignation in slander and reproach. Bede has preserved a curious specimen of the remonstrances addressed to the schismatic Irish by the Papal legates ; it is full of pride and bitterness, as may be seen in the following extract :—“ We, deputies from the Apostolic See to the Western regions, once foolishly believed in your island’s reputation for sanctity ; but we now know, and can no longer doubt, that you are no better than the Britons. Of this the journey of Columbanus into Gaul, and that of one Dagammon into Britian, have fully convinced us ; for, amongst other things, this Dagammon, passing through the places where we dwelt, has refused not only to come and eat at our tables, but even to take his meals in the same house with us.”

The crimes of Columbanus have been mentioned in the preceding chapter ; they were simply ardent zeal, sincere piety, and unpretending poverty. He founded no bishopricks, he courted no kings, he preached only to the poor and to the afflicted. Leaving courts and camps to the Papal legates, he spent his life in preaching the gospel to the wood-cutters and hunters in the mountains of the Vosges. The discourteous conduct of Dagammon was not wholly without excuse. The massacre of the British monks at Bangor by a body of pagan Saxons more than suspected of having been employed by the Italian Archbishop of Canterbury, and the bitter persecution of the native clergy of Wales, disgusted a man who believed in his simplicity that Christianity was, as it ought to

be, a system of peace and love, and who was, besides, allied in faith to the sufferers.

The invasion of the Danes was fatal to the national church of Ireland. The seats of learning, which had been ever spared in the disastrous feuds between rival princes, were but the more tempting objects to these avaricious savages. The seminaries were destroyed, the students scattered, and the means of support taken away from those who laboured to instruct a new race of pastors. Hence innumerable abuses arose ; the toparchs appointed to the sees persons wholly inadequate to perform the duties ; monasteries were seized by ambitious laymen ; and religious ordinances were either entirely neglected, or performed with a negligence which degraded them into an unmeaning ritual. The power possessed by the Anglo-Saxon clergy, contrasted with their own weakness, naturally excited the emulation of the Irish bishops. They began to wish for the lofty titles and the substantial privileges enjoyed by the prelates of the neighbouring island ; and as they clearly saw that this object could not be attained without the assistance of the Roman See, they determined to make the acknowledgment of the Papal authority the basis of their own aggrandizement. It may be, that some were actuated by better motives. There may have been a few who thought that external aid was necessary to reform the abuses which had been produced by centuries of commotion, and who looked to Rome, indisputably the head of the Western churches, as the only source from whence the means of an efficient reformation could be derived. The Holy See was not slow in availing itself of these favourable dispositions, especially as, by its aid, a new dynasty had been just established in England, more devoted-

ly attached to the Papal cause than that of the Saxons, because the benefits received by the Normans were more important and more recent.

The conquest of England by the Duke of Normandy, was hailed by the descendants of the Danes in Ireland as a triumph that prognosticated the revival of their own power and eminence. They relinquished the name of Ostmen for the more important title of Normans, and sent ambassadors to congratulate William on his success. They also broke off their connection with the Irish Church, asserting, with truth, that they had been instructed in Christianity by the Saxons; and they sent over their bishop-elect of Dublin to receive ordination from Lanfranc, the Norman Archbishop of Canterbury. This was the first step towards submission; but it was not made without resistance; for a letter is extant from the people of Dublin to Ralph, Archbishop of Canterbury, about the year 1121, in which they complain of the dislike shown to them by the Irish bishops, on account of their having submitted to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of a foreigner. The first Irishman who advocated the Papal supremacy was Gillebert, Bishop of Limerick, who accepted the office of apostolic legate. He wrote a curious tract, which is yet extant, recommending his countrymen to tender their spiritual allegiance to the common father of Christendom; but he urges it as a novel proposal, which assuredly he would not have done, if, as some pretend the first preachers of the gospel in Ireland had made the authority of the Pope a part of their system. Gillebert was succeeded as legate by the celebrated Malachy, whose life has been written by St Bernard, the pious and learned abbot of Clareval. Malachy took the decided measure of going to Rome

to solicit palls, the Roman emblem of investiture, for the metropolitan see of Ardmagh and the new archbishopric of Cashel. He did not, however, complete the journey ; he died at Clareval in the arms of his friend and biographer. The court of Rome did not allow the favourable impressions produced by Gillebert and Malachy to remain unimproved. In the year 1152, a synod was convened at Kells, over which Cardinal Paparo, the apostolic legate, presided. There, for the first time, palls were distributed to the Irish prelates, and the Papal authority formally acknowledged. The other enactments, made at the same time, clearly show the motives by which the clergy were induced to resign their independence :— tithes never before collected in Ireland ; immunities hitherto withheld ; the freedom of their order from taxation and civil jurisdiction were granted at this synod ; and thus, the last of the Western national churches was united finally to the Roman See.

The new ecclesiastical establishment was not, however, received universally. Many of the inferior clergy, animated by different motives, vigorously contended for their ancient usages ; and the toparchs were opposed to a system, by which their power was limited and controlled. Complaints were made in Rome, that the Irish clergy still continued to marry ; that tithes were paid irregularly ; and that the native princes usurped the nomination to ecclesiastical dignities. The Pope saw that some ally was necessary to confirm the supremacy which he had already gained ; and the abilities and ambition of Henry II. pointed him out as the most eligible auxiliary. In the year 1155, the negotiations between Henry II. and Pope Adrian were concluded. The holy father entered into a compact with the enterprising young

monarch, by which it was stipulated, that the lordship of Ireland should be transferred to Henry, provided that he would maintain the Papal supremacy and the ecclesiastical constitutions, which had been established by the synod of Kells. This negotiation, which was the foundation of the connexion between England and Ireland, is a precious sample of the hypocrisy, the injustice, and the mutual treachery of both parties. Henry, by no means a devoted slave to ecclesiastical power, suddenly found his Christian feelings wounded, by the schismatic state of the Irish church ; he therefore proposes to invade the island with a missionary army, not to extend his own dominions, but to diffuse the blessings of pure religion in that benighted country. Adrian, on the other hand, without even affecting to consult the wishes of the inhabitants, transfers to the Norman prince the sovereignty of an independent country, with as little scruple as if it had been an estate, of which he held the title-deeds. The genuineness of Adrian's bull has indeed been sometimes disputed ; but this is a matter of little importance. The fact, that Ireland was literally sold to the Norman invaders by the Pope, is indisputable, and is proved by a host of documents, which never have been questioned. The bull of Pope Alexander, read at the council of Cashel, which, by the way, refers to Adrian's bull as an authentic document, is to the full as explicit a declaration of the terms of the bargain, as that whose credit has been impugned. The declaration of the Irish clergy in their synod at Cashel, that they recognised Henry's authority, because it was founded on the infallible decree of Christ's vicar, and the unanimous consent of all cotemporary historians, native, English, and Continental, that

Henry undertook the conquest of Ireland, by command of the visible head of the church, in order to extirpate the religious abuses which prevailed in that country, are sufficient to prove the true cause and nature of the invasion, if Adrian's bull had never existed. During four centuries, the English monarchs and the parliament of the pale, unable to maintain their supremacy by the sword, constantly appealed to these Papal grants as the sacred source of their power; and, during the same period, every effort to restore the independence of Ireland was placed under ban and excommunication, as being a rebellion against the deputy of the sacred successors to the patrimony of Saint Peter. After the Reformation, when the Catholics of Ireland divided into two parties, which may be called those of the Low and High church, the latter, so far from denying the fact, of Ireland having been ceded to England by Papal authority, laboured strenuously to maintain the right of the Pope to make such a grant, and to resume it when the conditions had been violated. The origin of the right of the Holy See to Ireland was variously stated by different writers. One found out that *all* islands were included in the magnificent donation bestowed on the successors of Saint Peter by the Emperor Constantine; another discovered, in the prophecies of Isaiah, a divine right to islands; a third asserted, that some of the Irish Kings, during a pilgrimage to Rome, had resigned the supremacy of their dominions to the Sovereign Pontiff; while a whole host contended, that the Irish, in the time of Saint Patrick, had, in a sudden burst of national gratitude, placed themselves and their country at the disposal of their spiritual father. These idle legends are now only calculated to produce a smile;

but there was a time when they were potent causes of evil ; and many and bitter were the calamities which such wicked absurdities inflicted on the unfortunate island.

Continental wars, and the rebellion of his unnatural sons, long prevented Henry from availing himself of the Papal grant ; but, in the mean time, he entered into negotiations with some of the Irish prelates, who were anxious to purchase the pomp, power, and privilege, possessed by the English and Continental bishops, even at the price of their country's independence. What might have been the result of unaided negotiations is mere matter of conjecture. An accidental circumstance hurried them to a rapid conclusion, and brought the Normans into Ireland, before Henry and his partisans could make any previous preparations for the unexpected event.

CHAPTER III.

Strongbow's Invasion.

If the worst evils of civil commotion could form an excuse for transferring the sovereignty of a country to a foreign potentate, the Pope and the clergy might have found a powerful apology in the state of Ireland during the century that preceded the English invasion. The fatal victory at Clontarf so weakened the power of the Munster princes, that the O'Briens were unable to retain their preeminence, and the kings of the North and West became the principal candidates for the supreme power. Turlogh O'Connor, King of Connaught, nominally obtained this dignity ; but he was fiercely opposed by O'Lachlan, chief of the northern sept of Hy-Nial, aided by many other princes of Ulster and Leinster. After a long and desultory warfare, the rivals agreed to divide the sovereignty between them ; but, like all similar expedients, the peace obtained by this arrangement was partial and temporary, and war was soon renewed between the partisans of the competitors. O'Rourke, Prince of Breffny (the present county of Leitrim), was a warm supporter of the O'Connors ; while his neighbour, Dermod Mac-Murchad, King of Leinster, was as vigorous a sup-

porter of the Hy-Nial dynasty. Their political differences were further heightened by personal causes. O'Rourke, far advanced in years, had married Dervorghal, a princess of Meath, that might have been his daughter, and had soon cause to suspect that her affections were fixed on the youthful Dermot, the fame of whose beauty and courtesy was spread through all the surrounding septs. The war between the partisans of O'Connor and O'Lachlan was renewed ; Dermot invaded the territories of O'Rourke, and carried away Dervorghal a willing captive into Leinster. The injured prince complained to O'Connor of the gross wrongs he had received ; and the King of Connaught at once levied an army to support his ally. Dermot's territories were invaded before O'Lachlan could come to his assistance ; but he purchased peace, by restoring the lady to her husband, and making compensation for the ravages his soldiers had committed in Breffny (A. D. 1154). This event, which most historians assign as the immediate cause of the Anglo-Norman invasion, really occurred sixteen years before Dermot was driven into exile, and consequently before he had any necessity to ask for foreign assistance. On the death of Turlogh O'Connor, the undisputed sovereignty of Ireland was given to O'Lachlan ; and the partisans of the Hy-Nials immediately prepared to extend their dominions, and punish their rivals (A. D. 1156). The fidelity of Dermot was richly rewarded ; he was enabled to extend his sway over many of the neighbouring septs, and soon reckoned among his vassals the Kings of Ossory and Meath, the Danish lord of Dublin, and the toparchs who ruled in the districts which now form the counties of Wicklow, Carlow, and Wex-

ford. The Prince of Breffny had reason to dread the use which his rival might make of his newly acquired power ; but while Dermod was preparing utterly to destroy the power of O'Rourke, an unexpected event produced a complete revolution in Irish politics. O'Lachlan, after concluding a solemn treaty with Dunleve, Prince of Ulad (the present county of Down), treacherously made him captive, and tore out his eyes in prison. This abominable perfidy roused the northern chieftains into insurrection ; a rapid and general revolt took place ; and at the battle of Litterluin O'Lachlan fell, and the power of his family was annihilated (A. D. 1167). Roderick O'Connor, the son of Turlogh, ascended the vacant throne, apparently without waiting for the forms of an election, and immediately prepared to avenge the wrongs which had been inflicted on the partisans of his family. The Prince of Breffny was a willing assistant to the new monarch ; and the feudatories of Dermod, anxious to regain their independence, readily promised to favour his designs. On the advance of O'Connor into Leinster, Dermod found himself deserted by all his vassals ; and, unable to make any effective resistance, he set fire to Ferns, his capital city, and fled with a small train to solicit the aid of foreigners. This is the account given by the native Irish historians, and it bears all the internal marks of truth. The assertion, that Dermod was driven out as the ravisher of Dervorghal, rather than the partisan of O'Lachlan, rests solely on the authority of Giraldus Cambrensis, who, coming into the country as a stranger long after the transaction, might easily have mistaken a prominent, though incidental circumstance, for the principal cause of the war,

especially as it was the occasion of the first act of hostility on the part of Turlogh O'Connor.

Henry's claim to the lordship of Ireland was probably the motive that induced Dermod to invoke the assistance of that monarch, since no other plausible reason can be assigned for his not rather seeking the aid of the Munster princes, who were the hereditary rivals of the O'Connors, or claiming aid from the Kings of France or Scotland, both more intimately connected with Ireland at the period, (A. D. 1168). When the exiled prince arrived in Bristol, he found that Henry was absent in Guenue ; and thither he immediately proceeded, accompanied by his secretary, Maurice Regan. Having stated his wrongs to Henry, he made him a tender of his allegiance ; and having performed liege homage, received from the Norman king letters-patent, authorizing any of his English subjects that pleased to aid in the restoration of the dethroned monarch. Henry also recommended Dermod to remain in Bristol, until he could himself come personally to his assistance. The quarrel with Thomas-a-Becket, and the hostility of the French King, however, delayed the English monarch so long, that Dermod was almost reduced to despair. In this extremity, he resolved to avail himself of the King's letter, and solicit the assistance of those Norman adventurers who had settled in Wales.

In the beginning of this century, several of the Norman soldiers, who had not received any share of the Saxon estates, or who had wasted in dissipation the lands acquired by the conquest, obtained from the Anglo-Norman kings letters of license to conquer for themselves dominions in Wales. The southern

part of the country was the principal scene of these invasions, which were for the most part successful ; and the county of Pembroke having been subdued by a mixed body of Normans, Flemings and English, was so completely dissevered from the principality, that it was usually called *Little England beyond Wales*. Gilbert, Earl of Pembroke, the chief of this little territory, had a son, Richard, Earl of Strigul (now Chepstow), surnamed Strongbow, from his feats of archery. Strongbow was celebrated for his valour and military skill ; but his dissipated habits had ruined his fortunes ; and his notorious ambition deprived him of royal favour. To this nobleman, Dermod made application for assistance, promising him, that, if restored by his aid, he would give him his daughter Eva in marriage, and secure him the inheritance of his kingdom—a promise directly at variance with the Irish law, which made the succession to the crown elective, and acknowledged no right in the female descendants. Strongbow lent a willing ear to these conditions ; but, fearing the jealousy of Henry, refused to sail, until he received his sovereign's special permission. While Richard was thus delayed, Dermod succeeded in engaging other adventurers, equally brave and unscrupulous, but not so powerful as Earl Richard. The chief of these was Robert Fitz-Stephen, the governor of Cardigan, in South Wales. He had been thrown into prison by Rice, or Rhees-ap-Griffith, one of the Welsh princes, for refusing to join in an insurrection against the Norman power ; and he was now released, on condition of departing with his followers to another country, where they could offer no resistance to the meditated revolt. With him were joined Maurice Fitzgerald, his maternal brother, the

son of the Bishop of St David's, Meiler Fitz-Henry, Maurice de Prendergast, Hervé of Montmarais, and some other knights of reputation. Having made these arrangements, Dermot prematurely returned to Ireland, where he was soon exposed to the most imminent danger. On the news of his arrival, O'Connor and O'Rourke marched against him with their united forces; and MacMurchad, unable to make any effective resistance, retired with a few adherents into the fastnesses of Hy-Kinsellagh, a wild district on the banks of the river Slaney. At the same time, he despatched his friend and secretary Maurice into Wales, to expedite the auxiliaries who had promised their assistance. The attempts made by the troops of Connaught to force the post occupied by Dermot, were repulsed with some loss; and Roderick, being at the same time alarmed by the report of a meditated revolt in Munster, entered into an accommodation with the crafty monarch, and allowed him to retain a portion of his dominions, on condition of paying tribute.

In the beginning of May, A. D. 1170, the Norman invaders for the first time appeared on the coast of Ireland. They landed at a place called Bann, on the southern coast of the county of Wexford, and immediately sent messengers to notify their arrival to Dermot. This little army consisted only of thirty knights, sixty heavy-armed soldiers, and three hundred archers, under the command of Fitz-Stephen, and ten knights, and two hundred archers, headed by Prendergast—forces so apparently inadequate to the feats recorded of them, that their achievements, at first sight, seem like the wild fictions of romance. But a little examination of the circumstances in which the Normans and Irish were placed, will soon

explain this apparent disproportion between cause and effect. The former had been military adventurers for more than a century. Having no dependence but their swords, they had devoted themselves, from infancy, to the exercises of chivalry, and valued no possession but their arms and horses. Their cross-bows and their discipline had decided the fate of England at the battle of Hastings ; and the wars on the Continent had taught them to improve these advantages to the utmost. The Irish, on the contrary, had never served out of their own country. They had learned none of these improvements in the art of war which made the name of Norman formidable throughout Europe. Their soldiers still used the light weapons and the thin defences which had sufficed for their ancestors ; their cavalry was mounted on the native breed of horses, called hobbies, light and active, indeed, but not so formidable as the powerful war-horse of the foreign knights. It is no wonder, then, that the Normans, locked in complete steel, and mounted on their brilliant chargers, should have easily routed the half-naked and badly-mounted troops with whom they had to contend.

The first enterprise undertaken by the King of Leinster and his associates, was the siege of Wexford, a Danish town of great strength and importance. An attempt was made to carry it by assault, in which eighteen of the assailants, and only three of the garrison, were slain ; but such was the impression produced by the formidable array of the Normans, that the garrison, at the instigation of the clergy, offered to capitulate ; and after a delay of three days, principally caused by the obstinate pride of Dermot, the town was surrendered on equitable terms.

In pursuance of his promises, Dermod bestowed the lordship of Wexford and the surrounding districts on Fitz-Stephen, conjointly with Fitz-Gerald, though the latter had not yet arrived; and he presented to Hervé of Montmarais two districts on the coast between Waterford and Wexford. Hervé planted in these territories, which form the present baronies of Bargy and Forth, a colony of the Belgians who had settled in Pembroke; and their descendants, even at the present day, continue to be distinguished from the inhabitants of the surrounding districts by their peculiar dialect and customs.

After these donations, Dermod resolved to turn his arms against Donald Mac-Gilla Phadric, (a name afterwards anglicized into Fitz-Patrick), the King of Ossory. Donald had not only deserted Dermod at the commencement of his misfortunes, but had also been guilty of the murder of his son in a fit of matrimonial jealousy. Suspecting that his queen viewed the princely prisoner too favourably, Donald tore out his eyes with his own hands, and the hapless youth died in consequence. The war in Ossory (part of the modern county of Kilkenny) was more formidable than the attack of Wexford. Donald stationed his forces in an intrenched camp, whose strength defied the assaults of the Normans; and the utmost efforts of valour and skill were unable to overcome the advantages of his position. In this difficulty, Fitz-Stephen had recourse to stratagem. He ordered his men to feign a retreat; and when the Ossorians rushed from their camp with all the elation of imagined victory, the men-at-arms suddenly wheeled into line, and presented "a wall of steel,"*

* The forcible expression of an Irish annalist on a similar occasion.

which the half-naked Irish could not penetrate. Surprised at this sudden check, they wavered ; and the charge of the knights, at this decisive moment, at once decided the fate of the day. Ossory was wasted with fire and sword ; but the victors were terrified by the dangerous nature of the country, and resolved to secure their booty by a timely retreat. Donald, more irritated than daunted by calamity, seized a difficult pass through which the invaders should pass on their return, and, but for the precipitancy of his followers, must have obtained decisive revenge. Deceived by the same stratagem as before, the Ossori-ans rushed from their intrenchments. A party placed in ambush by Dermot suddenly assaulted their rear, and the lines of the Normans in their front could not be broken. The people of Ossory suffered more severely in this than in the former engagement. As soon as the fate of the battle was decided, the Irish of Dermot's party, whose equivocal fidelity seems to have been decided by success, made a fierce slaughter of their flying countrymen ; and when the pursuit ceased, cut off the heads of the fallen, and brought them to Dermot as a trophy. It is said that the King of Leinster, finding among these ghastly spoils the head of one of his most virulent persecutors, indulged his ferocious revenge by mangling the face with his teeth ; but the story rests on the unsupported testimony of Giraldus Cambrensis, a credulous writer, who loses no opportunity of maligning the character of the native Irish.

Dermot, encouraged by his successes, proceeded to punish the defection of the several septs which had been subject to him during the Hy-Nial dynasty ; but, contrary to the advice of his allies, he contented himself with plundering the country, and took

no measures to secure his conquests. The defection of Maurice de Prendergast exposed him to new and unexpected danger. This military adventurer, believing that his services were not properly appreciated, went over to the Prince of Ossory, and thus enabled him to act on the offensive. But this new alliance was of brief duration. Prendergast, after having assisted the Ossorians in an expedition against the O'Moores of Leix, discovered that Donald's followers treacherously meditated the murder of their allies, in order to secure their part of the plunder ; and, justly irritated, returned once more to Dermot. The arrival of Maurice Fitz-Gerald with a fresh band of Normans, made the superiority of the King of Leinster so decisive, that the Ossorian prince offered terms of submission, which, on the recommendation of the Normans, were reluctantly accepted.

While the first adventurers were thus employed, Strongbow had proceeded in person to King Henry, in order that he might obtain permission to lead the adventurers in Ireland. Henry, swayed both by jealousy and ambition, was equally unwilling to assent or refuse. He made an equivocal answer, which the Earl took for a full approbation, and, returning to Wales, made extensive preparations for his expedition. Raymond le Gros, who headed the vanguard of the new armament, was sent with ten knights and seventy archers to secure a landing-place for the rest of the army (A. D. 1171.) He arrived about the middle of May in the noble estuary formed by the confluence of the Nore, the Suir, and the Barrow, a little below the city of Waterford, and, landing at a place called by the old historians Downdonell, or Dundonolf, immediately erected a fortification of earth and sods to protect his little army.

Waterford had been originally a colony of the Danes or Ostmen, and was still inhabited by their descendants. It was governed by two Danish princes, Reginald and Swarth, and appears to have enjoyed a qualified independence. The news of Raymond's landing considerably alarmed the citizens, especially when they remembered the fate of Wexford which was now subjected to the Norman Fitz-Stephen. Resolving to crush the evil in the bud, they summoned to their assistance some of the neighbouring septs, and closely blockaded the new fort. Raymond had, in the meantime, collected a great store of cattle from the neighbouring districts, which he drove against the lines of the besiegers. Before the Irish could recover from their confusion, the Normans charged and obtained a victory, as great as it was unexpected. More than a thousand were slain, and about seventy taken prisoners. The conquerors did not make a generous use of their victory. The captives were massacred in cold blood,* by order of Raymond, enraged at the loss of his brother-in-arms, De Bevin, who was slain in the battle.

Henry had, in the mean time, peremptorily commanded Strongbow to desist from his enterprise. But the Earl, trusting that success would atone for his disobedience, set sail, and arrived in the bay of Waterford with a force of two hundred knights, and about twelve hundred infantry. The day after his landing, Strongbow, by the advice of Raymond, advanced to the attack of Waterford; and, after

* In this and some other details, the authority of Maurice Regan (secretary to King Dermot) has been followed, in preference to that of Giraldus Cambrensis. Regan was an eye-witness, and a principal actor in all these transactions. The information of Cambrensis was derived from hearsay.

having inspected the fortifications, determined to hazard an assault. Twice the Normans were repulsed by the garrison ; but one of the captains observing, at the eastern angle, a cage-work house that projected beyond the walls, cut away the props by which it was supported ; and the breach caused by the fall of the house opened an entrance for the assailants. The resistance of the garrison was punished by a merciless slaughter, which continued until the arrival of Dermot. The king successfully exerted himself to save the lives of his countrymen ; and as soon as the work of murder had ceased, solemnized the stipulated marriage between Strongbow and his daughter Eva. The nuptials were celebrated with such maimed rites as the time allowed ; and immediately after, the confederates determined to march against Dublin, whose inhabitants had thrown off their allegiance to Dermot.

The news of these successes at length roused Roderick from his inactivity. He assembled a numerous army, with which he advanced to Clondalkin, between the invaders and Dublin ; but no sooner had his followers seen the formidable array of the Normans, than they lost all courage, and dispersed without coming to an engagement. Dermot pursued his march without further interruption ; for Hesculph MacTurkill, the prince of the Ostmen in Dublin, after the retreat of the King of Connaught, was unwilling to hazard an engagement. Though the number of the besiegers was less than that of the garrison, the governor readily offered to capitulate ; but as the terms could not be arranged to the mutual satisfaction of both parties, Strongbow resolved to hazard an assault, which was completely successful. The slaughter was dreadful ; for the ci-

tizens, though deserted by the soldiers, made a desperate defence. It was of course unsuccessful. Many were slain ; and numbers of those who escaped the sword were drowned in the river. Hesculph and a great part of the garrison, on the first alarm, fled to their ships, and escaped to the Hebrides. The victorious Normans next made an incursion into Meath, where they met with little resistance. After a brief campaign they returned to Dublin, laden with plunder. Roderick, unable or unwilling to meet the enemy in the field, sent ambassadors to remonstrate with Dermot ; but, finding that the King of Leinster, elated by success, paid little regard to his requests, he ordered the hostages which had been given to him before the arrival of the Normans to be instantly beheaded. One of these unfortunate victims was Dermot's natural son. The slaughter of him and his companions completed the alienation of MacMurrough from the cause of his country ; and at his death, which occurred soon after, he bequeathed his dominions to Strongbow, and exhorted him to maintain the possession.

The death of Dermot was followed by the defection of his vassals ; and several other events which occurred about the same time were still more unfavourable to the Normans. A general council of the Irish clergy was held at Armagh. After a long deliberation, they declared that the success of the invaders was owing to the anger of Heaven, which the Irish had provoked by purchasing English slaves from the merchants of Bristol—a city long infamous, for this traffic in human flesh. The slaves throughout the country were immediately liberated ; and the Irish, believing that the Divine wrath was thus averted, felt proportionally elated. In England, Henry,

more jealous than ever of Strongbow's success, issued an edict, strictly forbidding the exportation of men, arms or ammunition, to Ireland.

Under these circumstances, Strongbow learned, with dismay, that a formidable confederacy for the expulsion of the invaders had been formed by the native Irish, the Danes of the Hebrides, and the corsairs in the Isle of Man. Strongbow immediately sent orders to Fitz-Stephen to send part of the garrison of Wexford to assist in the defence of Dublin. But the people of Wexford no sooner saw the number of their masters weakened, than they burst into insurrection, slew the greater part, and sent the rest as prisoners to an island in the bay. The news of this calamity reached Strongbow at the moment when his courage began to waver on account of the overwhelming force of the enemy. He immediately sent Laurence O'Toole, Archbishop of Dublin, to propose terms of accommodation to Roderick, and offered to acknowledge himself his vassal. The Archbishop is said, by many authors, to have been the original instigator of the confederacy; but this opinion seems to have little foundation in truth; for he would scarcely have remained voluntarily in a garrison of which he had planned the destruction. Roderick declared, that he would enter into no treaty; of which the departure of the Normans from the island should not be a preliminary; and, in case of a refusal, threatened to give immediate orders for an assault. When these terms were proposed in the council of the adventurers, Milo de Cogan declared his resolution rather to die in battle, than to purchase uncertain safety by disgraceful submission. These noble sentiments were applauded by the entire assembly; and, before their enthusiasm had

time to cool, the troops were drawn out, for the apparently desperate enterprise of assaulting the Irish camp. The effect of the surprise was decisive. The besiegers fled, almost without striking a blow. Roderick made no effort to rally his troops ; and the Normans, with the loss of only a single man, obtained a complete victory. The Danes returned to their ships as soon as they learned the event, and, departing to the Hebrides, relieved Strongbow from all his difficulties. The affairs of the south next engaged the attention of the Earl. He advanced to Wexford, which the inhabitants burned, and deserted on his approach ; but while he was preparing to take a severe vengeance for their revolt and inveterate hostility, he was deterred, by their threat of massacring Fitz-Stephen and their other prisoners. On his march, he escaped imminent danger from an ambuscade prepared by the sept. of the O' Ryans at Hydrone (in the modern county of Carlow). The Normans were assailed in a narrow pass, where their superior discipline availed but little ; and their defeat would have been inevitable, had not the leader of the Irish been slain by an arrow, on which his followers immediately dispersed.

The Earl next proceeded to Waterford, where he was visited by his brother-in-law, O'Brien, Prince of Thomond, who had married the daughter of Dermot. An expedition against the King of Ossory was planned by the two kinsmen, and a powerful army advanced into the territories of this inveterate enemy of their deceased father-in-law. Donald was unable to withstand the united forces, and sent to offer terms of peace. A personal interview was arranged, by the mediation of Maurice de Prender-

gast ; and Donald having received an assurance of safety, came to the Norman camp. O'Brien and Strongbow were inclined to violate their safe-conduct, and throw the King of Ossory into prison ; but Maurice de Prendergast, notwithstanding what he had himself suffered from Donald's treachery, openly protested against this breach of faith, and threatened to resist it by force of arms. The Earl yielded to this noble remonstrance ; and the Prince of Ossory was dismissed in safety. Soon after, an expedition was undertaken against the O'Byrnes of Wicklow, who were easily subdued ; but, in the midst of his triumphs, Strongbow received an order from Henry, so peremptory that he dared not disobey. In trusting, therefore, the government to De Cogan, he embarked for England.

A. D. 1171.—During the Earl's absence, Hes-calph MacTurkill, with a powerful army raised among the Norwegians of Man and the Hebrides, made a formidable attack on Dublin. Cogan obtained the assistance of a neighbouring Irish prince named Gillemoholmogh, whom he bound by oath to slay the Normans if they fled, and to join in the pursuit of the Norwegians, should the followers of Cogan obtain the victory. A fierce battle was fought at the eastern gate of the city, nearly on the ground occupied by the modern Dame Street and Cork Hill. The Normans, under the command of the governor, vigorously repulsed every assault ; and Richard Co-gan, issuing with a chosen band from the south gate, suddenly attacked the Norwegians in the rear, and threw them into fatal confusion. This was the time for Gillemoholmogh to perform his promise. He accordingly ordered his light troops to pursue the

fugitives ; and the Irish, mindful of their ancient hostility to the Danes, sternly refused all quarter. More than two thousand of the enemy were killed ; and the few that escaped to the ships only delayed their fate ; for a fierce storm arose, in which the greater part of the fleet was dashed to pieces. Mac-Turkill was taken prisoner by Richard Cogan, and sentenced to immediate execution—the governor pretending, that, as a pirate, he was excluded from the laws of war. Thus ended the last expedition of the Danes or Ostmen to Ireland ; and though many of their descendants remained in the country, especially in the seaports, they are never, after this event, noticed as a separate people.

Before venturing into the presence of Henry, Strongbow sent his friend Raymond le Gros to conciliate the irritated monarch ; but Raymond unfortunately arrived at the time of the murder of the unfortunate Becket, when Henry was too deeply engaged in averting the consequences of that rash and wicked deed, to attend to the affairs of Ireland. By exerting all his ability and ingenuity, Henry succeeded in regaining the favour of the Papal court ; and, immediately after his return to England, summoned Strongbow into his presence. By the intercession of Hervé de Monte-marisco (now called Mountmorris), the Earl was reconciled to his sovereign, and permitted to retain all his Irish possessions under the English crown. But, notwithstanding the pardon given to Strongbow, Henry availed himself of the Irish expedition, as a plausible pretext for seizing on all the castles in Pembroke, under pretence that they were justly forfeited, by their owners having encouraged an illegal arma-

ment. Having thus strengthened his power in Wales, Henry offered up his solemn devotions in the church of Saint David's, and then proceeded to Milford Haven, where a powerful fleet and army had been directed to assemble.

CHAPTER IV.

The Reign of Henry II.

A. D. 1172.—THE news of Henry's extensive preparations were received in Ireland with an apathy and unconcern which would be wholly unaccountable, if there had not been some previous negotiations with the Irish prelates and princes. While he was yet delayed in Milford, many tenders of submission and allegiance were received in the royal camp ; and, amongst others, the men of Wexford sent ambassadors to excuse their late insurrection, declaring that they had seized Fitz-Stephen as a traitor to his majesty, and only detained him until the royal pleasure was known. In the latter end of October, Henry arrived in the harbour of Waterford. He came professedly not to conquer the country; but to take possession of an island granted him by the Pope; and he relied for success on clerical intrigue, rather than force of arms. The morning after his arrival, he received the submission of MacArthy, the powerful chief of Desmond, or South Munster, who resigned all his estates into the hands of the King. They were all regranted immediately on the usual conditions of feudal tenure, except the city of Cork, which Henry reserved to himself. MacArthy's example was immediately followed by the Princes of Thomond, Os-

sory, and the Decies. Even O'Rourke of Breffney, whose family had been so long the most eminent partisans of the O'Connor dynasty, came to meet the English monarch on his march to Dublin, and humbly tendered his allegiance. On his arrival in Wexford, Henry allowed himself to be persuaded to pronounce the pardon of Fitz-Stephen. The gallant adventurer was permitted to retain the lands which he had received from MacMurchad ; but the town of Wexford was declared a royal garrison and an inalienable possession of the crown. While the most extensive preparations were making to celebrate the festivities of Christmas in Dublin, on a scale of magnificence to which the Irish toparchs were hitherto unaccustomed, Hugh de Lacy and William Fitz-Adelm de Burgo were sent against Roderick O'Connor, who, with the haughty chief of the Hy-Nials, still disdained all terms of submission. The inclemency of the season, and the difficulties of the country, rendered this expedition ineffectual, and the army returned to Dublin. In a temporary structure, erected outside the gates of the city, the Irish princes who had submitted were splendidly feasted by their new sovereign ; and, far from regretting the loss of their independence, they congratulated themselves on becoming the subjects of a monarch so powerful as Henry Fitz-Empress, for by this name the native historians invariably designate the Norman monarch, in order to gratify their national pride, and excuse their subjection by the great nobility of their master. To fulfil the conditions of the Papal grant, and to provide for the future administration of the country, Henry summoned a synod of the Irish princes and prelates at Cashel, under the presidency of Christian, Bishop of Lismore, the legate of the

Holy See. To this council came the Archbishops of Dublin, Tuam, and Cashel; the Bishops of the different sees in the South and East; a few of the English clergy; the most powerful toparchs of Munster and Leinster; and all the Norman barons who had obtained, or hoped to obtain, grants of Irish estates. The bull of Pope Adrian, and its confirmation by Alexander, were read in the assembly; the sovereignty of Ireland granted to Henry by acclamation; and several regulations made for increasing the power and privileges of the clergy, and assimilating the discipline of the Irish church to that which the Romish See had established in western Europe. Gelasius, Archbishop of Armagh, did not attend the synod, but excused himself on account of his age and infirmities; but he subsequently came to Dublin, and publicly gave his full assent to all the proceedings. The rest of the winter was spent in preparations for extending and securing the conquests; but, unfortunately, before Henry could put the wise plans which he meditated into execution, he was suddenly summoned to England by the alarming intelligence of the rebellion of his ungrateful sons, and of the arrival of two Papal legates, to inquire into the circumstances of Becket's murder. Sensible of his danger, the monarch sailed from Wexford on the feast of Easter, 1173, "leaving behind him," as Sir John Davis remarks, "not one more true subject than he had found on his first arrival." The government of Ireland was intrusted to Hugh de Lacy, with Robert Fitz-Stephen and Maurice Fitz-Gerald as his assistants. The celebrated John de Courcy, the tales of whose prowess are so wild and romantic, was encouraged to undertake the conquest of Ulster, by a grant of all the land which

he could wrest from the native possessors; and the entire county of Meath was given to Hugh de Lacy. The premature departure of Henry was the primary cause of all the evils under which Ireland laboured for centuries. Had he completed the subjugation of the country, he would naturally have established a uniform system of law and government; he would have made his followers, and the native inhabitants, bear the common name of fellow-subjects. Unfortunately, after his departure, the extension of the Anglo-Norman power was intrusted to private adventurers, whose rewards were the spoils of the vanquished. When spoliation was thus legalized, it is not surprising that many Norman leaders were unscrupulous in the selection of their victims, and seized the lands of those who were in the King's peace, as eagerly as the estates of those who still disdained submission. Indeed, the septs which had been foremost in acknowledging the Norman sovereignty, were the greatest sufferers. The adventurers seized their lands on any pretence, or on no pretence. The provincial governors were bribed by a share of the spoil to refuse redress; and an appeal to the sovereign was difficult on account of the distance, and not likely to succeed, when the crime was supposed favourable to the royal interests. The settlement at the synod of Cashel was manifestly misunderstood by all the parties concerned. The clergy believed that Henry assumed the title of Lord Paramount only as deputy to the Pope. The toparchs supposed, that, by their tender of allegiance, they only conceded the precarious sovereignty which had been enjoyed by the native princes; and Henry imagined that he had secured the possession of the island, though his power really extended not beyond

the places actually colonized by the Normans. The distinction between the new settlers and the natives was preserved more forcibly by the continuance of the Brebon law, and the old customs of tenure and descent. The English laws were granted only to the Norman settlers, to the citizens of the principal seaports, and to a few who obtained charters of denization as a matter of favour. Five principal septs, the O'Neills of Ulster, the O'Connors of Connaught, the O'Briens of Thomond, the O'Lachlans or Melachlans of Meath, and the MacMurroghs, called also Kavenaghs, of Leinster, were received within the pale of English law; but all the rest were esteemed aliens or enemies, and could neither sue nor be sued, even down to the reign of Elizabeth. This, in fact, amounted to a total denial of justice for any wrongs inflicted on the natives.*

* One instance may be quoted as an example. It occurs among the rolls of pleas, 28. Edward III.

" Simon Neal complains of William Newlagh, that he, with force and arms, on the Monday after the feast of Saint Margaret, at Clondalkin, in the county of Dublin, broke the said Simon's close and his herbage with oxen, calves and sheep, consumed and trampled, contrary to the peace, &c.; whence he says, that he is damaged to the amount of twenty shillings, and thereof, &c.

" And the aforesaid William comes now and says, that the aforesaid Simon is an Irishman, and not of the five bloods; and asks judgment if he be held to answer him.

" And the aforesaid Simon says, that he is one of the five bloods, to wit, of the O'Neals of Ulster, who, by the concession of the progenitors of our lord the king, ought to enjoy and use the liberties of England, and be deemed as freemen; and this he offers to verify, &c.

" And the aforesaid William says, that Simon is an Irishman, and not of the O'Neals of Ulster, nor of the five bloods; and thereupon issue is joined, &c. Wherefore let a jury, &c.

The old rolls contain numberless instances of complaints made for various acts of violence, to which the defendants plead, that "the plaintiff is an Irishman, and not of the five bloods," an answer which, if verified, was always held sufficient. When an English settler was slain, the murderer was executed according to English law; but the death of a native was compensated by an *erie*, according to the Breton code. Such an incongruity afforded so many chances of escape to the powerful, and opened so many facilities for suppression, that we cannot wonder at the opposition which all plans for the establishment of a uniform system of law received from the adventurers and their descendants.

The incompleteness of the conquest produced another evil of even greater magnitude, whose effects are not wholly effaced at the present day. We have seen that land was held at the pleasure of the *toparch*, that all his followers were tenants at will, who might be dispossessed at a moment's warning. The possession of similar power was ardently desired by the Norman barons. With short-sighted policy, they preferred a horde of miserable serfs to a body of substantial yeomanry; and they sacrificed readily their true interests, and the interests of both countries, to secure this object of their unworthy ambition. A similar folly seems to have seized on the successive

" Which jurors say upon their oath, that the aforesaid Simon is of the O'Neals of Ulster, and is of the five bloods, which, by the concession of the progenitors of our lord the king, ought to enjoy and use the liberties of England, and be deemed as freemen; and they assess the damages at ten pence. Therefore it is considered, that the aforesaid Simon should recover against the aforesaid William the damages aforesaid, and that the aforesaid William should be committed to jail, until," &c.

oligarchies that have wielded the destinies of Ireland. Nothing was deemed so formidable as an independent tenantry ; no possession more desirable than an estate stocked with beings who were slaves in all but the name. Hence, for many centuries, the valuable class of substantial farmers was utterly unknown in Ireland---hence the number of such is even now inconsiderable---and hence the great mass always ready for insurrection, when summoned by popular leaders or by their own passions ; men possessing no sympathy with their landlords, for never did community of feeling exist between master and slave ; men having nothing to lose in agrarian tumult, and every thing to hope from the prospect of revolution. The Norman oligarchs (if such a word may be used) were bad masters and worse subjects. The monarchs soon found the degenerate English who had adopted Irish customs more obstinate and more formidable enemies than the natives. In the language of the old historians, "they were more Irish than the Irish themselves ;" and, from their first settlement, their principal object and that of their successors was, to control, and if possible prevent, the wholesome influence of the British government, in order to maintain their own monopoly of oppression. Had Henry remained a sufficient time to complete his prudent plans, he might really have established an English interest in Ireland ; but he only left behind him an oligarchy, which, like all other oligarchies in a country possessing the semblance of freedom, was ever jealous of the sovereign, and odious to the people.

Scarcely had Henry departed, when new commotions proved how insecure was the settlement which he had effected. Strongbow was obliged to send an army to collect the promised tribute from the tor-

parchs in Ossory. On his return, his forces were suddenly attacked in a defile, and Robert de Quincy, his son-in-law and standard-bearer, slain. The grant of Meath to Lacy occasioned more important tumults. Some of the toparchs, but especially O'Rourke of Breffney, had been received into the King's peace, and confirmed in their possessions ; but they justly dreaded, that the formidable castles which Lacy was erecting and garrisoning, would prove too powerful for royal grants and legal claims. It was proposed that O'Rourke and Lacy should arrange their respective boundaries in an amicable conference on the hill of Tarah ; and thither both repaired with trusty bands of their adherents. Both parties are accused of treachery, and very probably both were equally guilty. The conference terminated in a furious engagement. Lacy was with difficulty rescued by Fitz-Gerald ; but O'Rourke was slain on the spot with a great number of his followers. Similar incidents alienated the affection of the princes who had submitted to the Norman dynasty. They found that the sovereign was unwilling or unable to afford them protection against the avaricious adventurers ; and they resolved to take advantage of the difficulties in which Henry was placed, and make one bold effort for independence.

The rebellion of Henry's unnatural children was supported by his inveterate enemy the King of France, and by many of the diminished native tribes that inhabited the north-western shores of Gaul. His queen and several of the English nobles had joined the infamous confederacy, and there seemed no means by which his ruin could be averted. But the abilities of Henry rose superior to danger. He took into his pay a large body of those military adventurers called Brabançons, who wandered through Europe

in search of an employer. He summoned his adherents from every part of his dominions; and he used all the diplomatic arts, of which he was a consummate master, to sow discord between the members of the alliance formed against him. The alacrity with which Strongbow hastened in this conjuncture to bring assistance to his sovereign, effaced the jealousy which had been previously entertained of his designs. He was sent back to Ireland with the authority of Lord-deputy, and, with what he deemed of equal importance, permission to avail himself of Raymond's abilities in any enterprise that appeared advisable. Immediately after his arrival, Strongbow took care to remove those leaders whose ambition would probably have induced them to resist his authority. Lacy, Cogan, Fitz-Stephen and Fitz-Gerald, were ordered into England to assist the King of England in his war against the Scots; and the danger of their jealousy being thus removed, Raymond was ordered to lead the English army into the territories of the revolted princes. This expedition was equally successful and profitable. Raymond laid waste the district of Ofally, and extended his ravages into the south of Munster. He led his army, laden with plunder, to Lismore, and resolved to send the booty thence to Waterford for greater security. The Prince of Desmond and the people of Cork, having heard of the rich stores about to be transmitted to Waterford, fitted out a fleet, supported by an army, to intercept them on their passage; but on the same day they were defeated both by land and sea, and Raymond entered Waterford in all the pomp of military triumph.

These victories made Raymond a great favourite with the soldiers; and his readiness to wink at their

excesses, secured him their affections. Relying on this power, and elated by success, he now ventured to ask for the hand of Basilia, Strongbow's sister, and the office of standard-bearer of Leinster. Irritated at the peremptory refusal of both his demands, Raymond returned to Wales, and the command of the army was given to Hervé of Mountmarais, a man of inferior abilities, and greatly disliked for the severity of his discipline. Emulous of rivalling Raymond's fame, Hervé persuaded Strongbow to attempt the subjugation of Munster. The army advanced to Cashel without encountering any opposition; but an auxiliary force of Ostmen from Dublin was surprised by O'Brien near Thurles, and cut to pieces. The news of this calamity showed Strongbow the necessity of immediate retreat. He retired with great precipitation to Waterford; and the Irish, magnifying this slight advantage into a decisive victory, declared that they would never make peace until they had expelled the invaders. The new confederacy was joined by the Kavenaghs, and the other principal septs which had hitherto supported the Normans in all their efforts; a fact from which it may fairly be presumed, that gratitude to their allies was as little a virtue of the invaders as mercy to the vanquished; and Roderick O'Connor was induced to place himself at the head of a confederacy which seemed to enjoy the fairest prospects of success.

In this difficulty, Strongbow found himself forced to have recourse to Raymond le Gros, and sent messengers to solicit the return of that valiant leader. Raymond readily acceded to the request. He collected a new band of adventurers; and, crossing the sea, arrived in Waterford when the inhabitants were on the point of attempting a general massacre of the

garrison. The nuptials of Raymond and Basilia were celebrated at Wexford; and on the following morning, the bridegroom proceeded to check the advance of O'Connor's army, which now threatened an attack on Dublin. But the Irish monarch was unable to bring his tumultuous forces to an engagement. Eager to secure the plunder they had obtained in Meath, the chieftains insisted on returning home; nor could they be persuaded to make a stand when Raymond overtook their rear, and slaughtered several companies almost without resistance. Having repaired the castles which had been destroyed in Meath, Raymond next led his army into Munster, to punish O'Brien, Prince of Thomond. He was attended by his usual good fortune. The Irish troops everywhere fled at his approach. Limerick was taken with little loss, and its plunder enriched the victorious army.

This last defeat convinced Roderick O'Connor, who seems to have desponded from the very beginning, that nothing but timely submission could save him from impending ruin; but, disdaining to negotiate with Strongbow, he sent ambassadors to King Henry, then in England. A treaty was concluded on equitable conditions, which, like most treaties of the time, was observed no longer than served the purposes of the stronger party. Roderick was confirmed in the possession of his hereditary dominions, and permitted to retain the empty title of King of Ireland.

The favourable prospects thus opened, were threatened with speedy extinction by the jealous suspicions of Henry. He lent a greedy ear to the tales which Hervé told of Raymond's ambition; and sent over four commissioners, two of whom were charged to

conduct Raymond into England, and the others directed to investigate the proceedings of Strongbow. The commissioners were received with all the respect due to their station. Raymond professed his readiness to obey; but, while his departure was delayed by contrary winds, news arrived that O'Brien of Thomond had again renewed the war, and had already so vigorously pressed the siege of Limerick, that the garrison, unless instantly relieved, must capitulate. The army, zealously attached to Raymond, and conscious of its own importance, refused to march unless headed by the favourite general; and the commissioners were forced to yield a reluctant assent to a requisition which confirmed all their suspicions.

The expedition into Thomond was completely successful. O'Brien's army was routed near Cashel, notwithstanding the advantages of superior numbers, and a formidable position; the siege of Limerick was raised; and Munster was filled with terror and dismay, by the rapid career of the victorious army. A civil war in Desmond, originating from that pregnant source of convulsions, the law of Tanistry, afforded Raymond a pretext for advancing into that country. MacArthy, Prince of Desmond, had been dethroned by his son Cormac, who feared that the succession would devolve on some other individual. The exiled toparch, having sworn allegiance to Henry, claimed the assistance of the English general, and promised a munificent reward if his restoration could be effected. Raymond eagerly embraced the offer. He advanced into Desmond, and, by the mere terror of his arms, compelled the inhabitants to submit to their rightful sovereign. He was rewarded by the gift of

some valuable lands in Kerry, which he retained and transmitted to his posterity.

In the midst of his triumphs, Raymond was alarmed by the receipt of a mysterious letter from his wife Basilia. It stated, that her great tooth, which had ached so long, was at last fallen out, and entreated him to return with all speed to Dublin. This enigmatical announcement of Strongbow's death justly alarmed Raymond. He knew that the Irish, notwithstanding their pretended submissions, really abhorred the invaders, and he dreaded their seizing this opportunity to join in a general revolt, and overwhelm the English army in detail. In this juncture, he adopted the wise plan of concentrating all his forces on the eastern coast, where assistance might easily be received from England. Withdrawing, therefore, the garrison from Limerick, he gave up the possession of the city to O'Brien, pretending to confide in his lavish promises of fidelity, and his solemn oaths of allegiance. The garrison, however, had scarcely passed over the bridge, when they had the mortification to see it broken down behind them ; and at the same time, the flames that arose from the devoted city, showed how little oaths and promises could bind the perfidious Prince of Thomond.

The obsequies of Strongbow were performed in Dublin with great magnificence. He left behind him no male heir, which the superstitious chroniclers attribute to the sacrileges which he had committed or authorized. His character is drawn in very different colours by the historians of the English and Irish parties. From both it appears that he possessed, in no ordinary degree, the military skill, romantic daring, and high chivalrous valour, that usually belonged to the Norman adventurers ; but that his military vir-

tues were sullied by the cruelty, rapacity, and recklessness of the misery inflicted on the vanquished, which the Northern tribes and their descendants exhibited in all their conquests.

Raymond was chosen chief governor by the council until the King's pleasure could be known ; but Henry, yielding to jealousy, appointed as his deputy, William Fitz-Andelin de Burgo, a nobleman allied to him by blood. The new governor was accompanied into Ireland by a gallant train of knights, among whom, Fitz-Stephen de Cogan, and Fitz-Walter, the ancestor of the Ormond family, were most conspicuous. Another, and equally important deputy arrived at the same time. Vivian, the Papal legate, came over with a bull confirming the previous grants, and was attended by Wallingford, an English ecclesiastic, who was to assist him in reforming, that is, enslaving the Irish church (A. D. 1177.) While Fitz-Andelin made an ostentatious progress along the coast, inspecting the fortifications which had been lately erected, Vivian convened an assembly of the clergy at Waterford, in which the Papal bull was read and received, and the severest threats of spiritual vengeance denounced against those who should impeach the grant made by the successor of St Peter.

The state of Ireland during the administration of Fitz-Andelin, was the most miserable that can be conceived. The original invaders looked on the attendants of the Lord-deputy with suspicion ; and the new comers eagerly coveted the broad lands which had rewarded the valour of the first adventurers. The sons of Maurice Fitzgerald were compelled to exchange their lands, which lay in a secure part of the country, for others more exposed to the incursions of the Irish. Raymond le Gros, and Robert Fitz-

Stephen, were forced to a similar compliance; and the dangerous feeling of insecurity of property was universally diffused. De Courcy, with his brother-in-arms, Armorie St Laurence, invaded Ulster on his own account, and conquered the principality of Ulad (the county of Down). But the Irish would not tamely submit to such spoliation, but maintained a bitter and wasting, though unsuccessful warfare, against the adventurers. Milo de Cogan was invited to invade Connacht, by the son of Roderick O'Connor, who wished to dethrone his father. He entered the country with a powerful army; but the Irish burned their provisions and destroyed their cattle, in order to deprive their enemies of subsistence. Desmond and Thomond were miserably devastated by civil wars between rival chieftains and ambitious claimants for the office of Tanist; and the whole country was laid waste in these unnatural and bloody quarrels. All that had hitherto been regarded as sacred, was disregarded; the churches afforded no shelter, the monasteries yielded no protection, the Norman soldiers paid no reverence to the sanctuaries, and the Irish burned them down when they found that they were no longer a safe refuge. Treachery and assassination were of such ordinary occurrence, that they ceased to be regarded as criminal. The Tanist of the Hy-Niall was murdered by a rival lord; the murderer, in his turn, fell by a similar crime; and the partisans of both butchered each other without mercy, striving which could boast of the greater amount of iniquity. The imperfect records of the time, detail nothing but similar enormities; and their accounts would lead us to believe, that during this calamitous period, all restraints of religion and law were banished from

Ireland, and its native and new inhabitants equally subjected to the tyranny of their own brutal passions.

Repeated complaints at length directed Henry's attention to the dangers of Fitz-Andelm's misgovernment. He was recalled, and Hugh de Lacy appointed in his stead. At the same time, Henry conferred the lordship of Ireland on his favourite son John. We are not told whether this was considered a violation of the late treaty with Roderick; but certainly the rights of the Irish monarch were disregarded in the transaction, for the grant to John contains precisely the same stipulations and reservations which had been made with Roderick. With an equal disregard of the terms on which the Irish princes had given their allegiance, the kingdom of Cork was granted to Milo de Cogan and Robert Fitz-Stephen, with the reservation of the city to the crown. The territory of Waterford, with a similar reservation, was given to Robert de la Poer; a great part of Connaught to William Fitz-Andelm; and the territory of Limerick to Herbert Fitz-Herbert. The prudence of the adventurers prevented the evils which these unprincipled cessions were likely to produce. They entered into negotiations with the natives; and, having obtained possession of some districts, they left the rest to the original inhabitants. Herbert, indeed, resigned the grant made to him. He was already sufficiently wealthy, and too indolent to engage in any new adventure. It was therefore transferred to Philip de Braosa, who was as little inclined to brave difficulties or dangers. When Braosa advanced to take possession of his new estate, the Irish set fire to Limerick; and Braosa, affrighted by this act of desperation, fled

precipitately with his followers to Cork. Nor could any persuasion induce them to renew their efforts.

Hugh de Lacy's administration was equally vigorous and prudent. He dealt out impartial justice without any distinction of Irish or Normans. He restrained the rapacity of the latter, and endeavoured to conciliate the affections of the former. His marriage with the daughter of Roderick O'Connor seemed, in the eyes of the Irish, to give him a claim to Meath more legitimate than that conferred by the grants of Henry; and no opposition was made to his erecting castles and forts for the security of that part of the country. Jealousy of the power or popularity of his subjects was Henry's besetting sin. The accounts he received of Lacy's administration, his prudence, his skill, and his tried valour, induced the monarch to suspect that he meditated throwing off his allegiance, and becoming an independent sovereign. The deputy was recalled, and three Lords Justices appointed; but the readiness with which Lacy resigned his power lightened, if it did not efface, Henry's suspicions; and the incapacity of his successors leading to a renewal of former evils, the King was obliged to restore Lacy to his government in less than three months. The King, it is said, at Lacy's request, sent Robert of Shrewsbury to Ireland, with the Lord-deputy, nominally as his domestic chaplain, but really as a spy on his conduct. The Irish clergy had sacrificed the independence of their country to their avarice and ambition; but they found themselves cheated of the expected reward. They immediately had recourse to the Pope; and a deputation, headed by Laurence O'Toole, Archbishop of Dublin, and five bishops, was sent to Rome. Their complaints were well received; and

his Holiness armed Laurence with the powers of apostolic legate. But Henry was aware of this impending danger, and arrested Laurence in Normandy on his return. The prelate, notwithstanding all his remonstrances, was detained a prisoner until his death in 1181. The Irish historians have generally chosen to celebrate Laurence as a patriot, and the Irish Catholics venerate him as a saint; but the double traitor had few claims to either honour. The English writers dwell on his hostility to the invaders as an excuse for the ungrateful treatment he received from Henry. The Irish, anxious to find one friend of his country among the clergy, eagerly adopt this unfounded representation. The undisputed facts in the Archbishop's life are few; but they decisively prove, that he began by being a traitor to his country, and, not receiving the expected reward, ended by becoming a rebel to the King of his own selection. In the very beginning of the invasion, we find him acting as ambassador for Strongbow. At the synod of Cashel, he was foremost in recognising Henry's title; and at Waterford, he joined in denouncing oaths against all who should resist the arrangements made by the Holy See. He was succeeded by John Comyn, an Englishman, and a great favourite of the King; and the appointment was confirmed by Pope Lucius.

Five years had elapsed since Cogan and Fitz-Stephen had tranquilly settled on their new estates, and lived on amicable terms with their neighbour. Though grieved by the loss of a favourite son, Fitz-Stephen had every prospect of terminating an honourable life in a peaceful old age. The jealousy of his old rival Cogan was averted by the marriage of another son to Cogan's daughter; and the hostility

of the Irish toparchs seemed to have yielded to time and familiar intercourse. But these appearances were fallacious. Cogan and his son-in-law were treacherously murdered by a toparch, named Mac-Tire, who had invited them on a visit ; and, in the midst of the grief and consternation occasioned by this outrage, Fitz-Stephen was compelled to provide for the safety of Cork, to which MacArthy had laid siege, as soon as he heard of Cogan's murder. The flame of revolt spread rapidly through Desmond and Thomond. The toparchs hastened to join MacArthy, believing that Cogan's death afforded them a favourable opportunity of expelling the invaders ; and Fitz-Stephen, broken down with age and sorrow, applied to his nephew Raymond for assistance. Le Gros lost no time in marching from Wexford to relieve his uncle. He soon raised the siege, and compelled the Prince of Desmond to sue for peace on humiliating conditions ; but Fitz-Stephen was no longer sensible of this success. Grief for the death of his son had deranged his intellects, and, during the rest of his life, he continued a lunatic.

To repair the injuries which the late insurrection had inflicted on the English power, Henry sent Richard de Cogan, the brother of the murdered baron, and Philip Barry, a celebrated knight of Wales, with a powerful army into Munster. The soldiers were accompanied by a train of ecclesiastics, amongst whom was Gerald Barry, better known by the name of Giraldus Cambrensis, an ecclesiastic to whom Henry intrusted the guidance of his son John, and whose visit to Ireland was principally to acquire such information as might serve for the direction of his pupil, when he should come to take possession of his lordship. The foreign and native clergy were soon

engaged in angry controversy concerning the relative merits of their respective establishments. The virtues and miracles of their national saints became subjects of fierce and tedious debates. "Saints!" said Cambrensis to an Irish prelate, "tell me not of saints;—your whole catalogue contains not a single martyr."—"Alas!" said the Irishman, "your reproach is too true. My countrymen were always too pious, to dip their hands in the blood of holy men; but now that the wicked Normans have come among us, we shall have martyrs in plenty." This allusion to the murder of Becket silenced Cambrensis, for he records not his reply; but he raised other questions equally ludicrous, but more mischievous, which threatened to add religious rancour to national hostility.

As if Henry had determined to try every means in his power for destroying his new kingdom, he again recalled Lacy from the government; and nominated in his place Philip de Braosa, whose expedition to Limerick has been already commemorated. The brief administration of the new deputy was distinguished by several acts of outrage and rapacity, among which his exactions from the clergy are most forcibly denounced by the monkish historians. But the evils which Braosa commenced were consummated by a power superior to his; and a measure, from which Henry expected the greatest advantages, proved more fatal than all his former errors together.

The Pope readily confirmed Henry's grant of the lordship of Ireland to John. He even offered the title of King to the young prince, and sent him the appropriate present of a coronet of peacock's feathers, as a token of investiture. Such a gift would, in the present day, be considered a bitter satire on

the folly and vanity of John ; and the Pope would obtain the credit of a witty sarcasm on the foppishness and imbecility of the youthful prince : but the peacock, in the middle ages, was the honoured bird of chivalry, and shared with the ladies in knightly reverence and devotion. Henry, however, was not willing to encourage the Papal interference any farther. He sent his son to Ireland without any new title, accompanied by a train of young nobles, and a few more steady counsellors, whose influence he hoped would check the presumption of the youthful prince and his wild associates. When the news of John's landing in Waterford was spread abroad, the Irish chieftains hastened to pay their respects to the son of their sovereign. They came in their national costume, wearing linen vests, flowing mantles, long hair and bushy beards ; objects of curiosity to the wise and aged, but of unceasing ridicule to the giddy and insolent young courtiers. When admitted to the prince's presence, they advanced with dignified ease through the circle, in order to salute their lord with the kiss of peace, according to the fashion of their country. Here they were rudely repulsed by the young Normans, who looked upon such a ceremony as a profanation. Not contented with this, the wild nobles heaped further insults on the chieftains ; they plucked their beards, mimicked their gestures, and finally thrust them with violence from the presence. " Irishmen," says an old Irish song, " readily forgive injuries, but insults never." The chieftains returned home burning for revenge ; they detailed the story of their reception to all whom they met coming to the court ; and they spread every where the account of their wrongs, until the entire island was animated by one sentiment of deadly hate.

against the English government. Regardless of the coming storm, John and his associates proceeded still further to alienate the affections of his new subjects. In defiance of the privileges which Henry had granted to the maritime towns, the citizens were loaded with heavy taxes, to support the expenditure of an extravagant court. The "men of iron," who had conquered Leinster, were studiously discouraged, and had reason to dread that their estates would be wrested from them, to gratify the cupidity of the silken flatterers by whom the prince was accompanied. About the same time, Lacy, whose personal influence might have abated these evils, was murdered by a labourer whom he had employed in erecting a castle. The news of his death was joyfully received by the Irish, who dreaded his abilities; and the clergy, attributing it to the vengeance of the saints, for some act of sacrilege, contributed not a little to make this event an additional stimulus to insurrection.

The storm at length burst forth with fearful violence. News of disasters poured in from every quarter; and the alarmed prince, having wasted all his treasure in idle pomp, had no means of paying the soldiers, and had no hold on the affections of the veterans, whom he had wantonly insulted. Robert Barry and his whole troop were surprised and slain at Lismore; the garrison of Ardfinnan seduced into an ambuscade, and slaughtered by the Prince of Limerick; Robert de la Poer, after a gallant resistance, fell in Ossory; Canton and Fitz-Hugh, two knights of great fame, met a similar fate; and, but for the gallantry of Fitz-Walter, Cork must have yielded to MacArthy of Desmond. Even in Meath, which the castles erected by Lacy rendered the most

secure part of the English settlements, William Petit had great difficulty in repelling a dangerous inroad of the northern Irish.

Eight months of disorder had elapsed, before Henry was fully informed of the ruin which threatened his Irish interests. He immediately determined to recall John from a government which he had so wantonly abused, and to intrust the administration to De Courcy, whose desperate valour seemed the best qualification in this moment of danger. The young prince and his gaudy train gladly quitted a country where their personal safety was no longer secure ; and the defence of the English interests was again confided to the old settlers.

De Courcy, left to his own resources, acted with all the vigour which the crisis demanded. He was ably seconded by young Lacy ; but he derived more important assistance from the dissensions of the Irish themselves, who, even at this most important moment, renewed the feuds which had previously proved their ruin. The northern chieftains engaged in civil war, and allowed the English to recover their lost ground without interruption. In Connaught, Roderick being deposed by his sons, retired into the monastery of Cong, where he ended his unfortunate career ; and the nominal sovereignty of Ireland, now the very shadow of a shade, became the subject of a violent contest between the chieftains of the west and north. Still De Courcy was unable to surmount all the difficulties by which he was surrounded. He attempted to invade Connaught, but was compelled to retire before two armies, each far superior to his own. The ability with which he extricated his army, was more honourable than any triumph ; but the Irish magnified this slight advantage into a glorious vic-

tory, and boasted that they would now drive the foreigners from their shores. A combined effort for the purpose would probably have succeeded; but this was prevented by the private feuds of the chieftains, and the vacillation of the superior leaders, who made war and peace on the impulse of the moment, and could never be persuaded to adopt any steady policy. Several desultory incursions were repelled by the Deputy; but the ravages were renewed at every fresh opportunity, and the country remained distracted and desolate. Affairs were in this wretched condition, when the news arrived of Henry's death, and the accession of his son Richard (1189.)

CHAPTER V.

The Reigns of Richard I., John, and Henry III.

THE state of Ireland, at the time of Henry's death, was wretched ; and unhappily there was every prospect that the evils by which the country was afflicted would increase, rather than diminish. Every party that had shared in forming the connection between the two islands, was equally dissatisfied and disappointed. The Pope found that his claims for tribute were disregarded ; the clergy found that tithes, the great bribe for which they had sold themselves to the foreigners, could not be obtained from the Irish, unused to such exactions, nor from the new settlers, who set all laws at defiance ; the King found his sovereignty an empty title ; the barons, poor and rapacious, were eager to make new territorial acquisitions ; and the Irish toparchs, jealous of the foreigners and of each other, would neither preserve peace nor wage war effectively. The clergy, however, were fixed in their determination to support the English ascendancy. They dreaded nothing so much as a return to the piety and poverty of the Irish national church ; they felt themselves elevated, by their connection with Rome, to the state and dignity of princes ; and, conscious that

their privileges would be lost if their country attained independence, they zealously preached the doctrine of submission to Rome and England. But the Papal authority, which afterwards proved a potent instrument of rebellion, was of little avail in enforcing obedience. Indeed it was at this time, and for many subsequent years, almost wholly disregarded in Ireland; a portion of the native clergy still clinging to the usages of their ancestors, and the laity, in general, paying little attention to claims of supremacy which they could not understand.

Richard, on his accession to the throne, was too much busied in preparations for his romantic expedition against the Saracens of Palestine, to pay any attention to Ireland. He allowed his brother John, as Lord of the country, to exercise all the regal functions; and in his name all charters were granted, and deputies appointed. John's first act was to remove De Courcy from the government, which was now intrusted to Hugh de Lacy. The deposed deputy immediately retired to his estates in Ulster, without attempting to conceal his hostility to his successor; and this dissension between the two greatest Norman leaders, encouraged the Irish to renew their attacks on the foreigners.

The throne of Connaught was at this time possessed by Cathal, to whom his countrymen gave the epithet of Bloody-handed. He owed his election to intrigue and violence, and was conscious that his sovereignty could only be secured by spirit and activity. Taking advantage of the hatred generally incurred by the Normans, he declared himself resolved to restore the ancient honours of his name and nation; and he denounced speedy and fearful vengeance on the foreigners who had usurped the fairest pos-

tions of the land, and were still extending their ravages and oppressions. All the toparchs applauded these sentiments; the chieftains of Thomond and Desmond hastened to express their concurrence; and the tribes of Ulster sent messengers to offer their assistance. De Courcy saw the coming storm, and sent to summon his brave friend Armoric of Saint Laurence to his assistance. Armoric, collecting a little troop of about two hundred foot and thirty horse, hastened to obey his leader's summons; but, passing through part of Cathal's country, he fell into an ambuscade, and, overwhelmed by numbers, perished, with all his companions.

The news of fresh disturbances in Ireland induced John to confer the government on William Petit, and, soon after, on William Earl Marshal, who had married the daughter of Earl Strongbow, and in her right possessed extensive estates in Ireland. Lacy resigned his power with great reluctance, and, retiring to his estate, imitated the example of De Courcy, and almost affected independence. The Earl Marshal exerted himself to retrieve the English interests in Munster; and, though defeated by the Prince of Thomond near Thurles, he penetrated into the very heart of the country. These successes, however, were sullied by the most shocking cruelties. One of O'Brien's children was blinded, and another dragged from the very altar, and remorselessly murdered. Such atrocities provoked revenge, but did not inspire fear. Cathal hastened to relieve his allies; and the English, on his approach, were forced to a precipitate retreat. Soon after, Limerick was captured by the Prince of Desmond; and Cathal, being joined by O'Lochlan, the head of the powerful sept of Hy-Nial, advanced to the siege of

Cork, the only post of strength now remaining to the English in Munster. The army sent to the relief of this important post was totally defeated; but the fate of the place was delayed for a time, by a renewal of the ancient feud between the rival houses of O'Connor and Hy-Nial. The siege was raised; but the garrison, having exhausted all their provisions, and being hopeless of relief, surrendered to the Prince of Desmond.

A. D. 1197.—Hamo de Valois was the next governor. He found a ruined army, and an empty exchequer; and to relieve the pressing necessities of the state, he unscrupulously seized some of the estates of the Church. Comyn, the archbishop, was by no means disposed to submit patiently to such a proceeding, and immediately had recourse to those spiritual weapons which, in that age, possessed such wondrous efficacy. He went in solemn procession to the cathedral, and ostentatiously removed all the apparatus of public service. The crucifixes were laid prostrate; the image of Christ crowned with thorns, as if the agony of the passion was renewed by this attack on ecclesiastical property; and after this solemn farce, the prelate having laid his diocese under an interdict, departed from the kingdom. The rest of this extraordinary contest is involved in obscurity. We only know, that after the lapse of several years, Hamo felt remorse for having injured the Church, and made a large grant of land to the see of Dublin as an atonement for his offence.

A. D. 1198.—Twelve years had passed since the unfortunate Roderick had been confined by his rebellious children in the monastery of Cong, and, during that period, his family had been gradually wasted by civil discord and mutual murder. His death

was regarded as a matter of little moment ; and the last monarch of Ireland was consigned to the tomb with as little noise as the meanest of his vassals. In the following year King Richard died; and the throne of England was usurped by John, in defiance of the rights of his nephew Arthur; the lordship of Ireland was thus reunited to the crown of England, and it was expected that the royal authority would consequently command more respect than it had hitherto received. The war with France, the discontent of the barons, and the claim of Arthur, allowed John little leisure for regulating the affairs of Ireland ; and the pacification of the country seemed as far off as ever.

De Valois by his exactions, provoked the resentment of the clergy and the laity. Urgent petitions for his removal were sent to the King, and John summoned him to appear and plead to the charges urged against him. His defence was deemed unsatisfactory, and he was forced to pay a fine of a thousand marks to the King ; but when this was paid, he was allowed to escape without making restitution to those he had plundered. Meiler Fitz-Henry, one of the original invaders, was appointed his successor ; and at the same time John confirmed the grant of lands in Thomond to Philip de Braosa, and assigned their custody to De Burgho, one of the Fitz-An-dehm family which had formerly been gifted with lands in Connaught. De Burgho was not a man disposed to lose so rich a grant by negligence. He set out immediately with a gallant train, and exerted himself with such extraordinary vigour, that he soon obtained possession of Limerick, and established there a power which threatened the independence of Munster and Connaught. The affairs of the latter pro-

vince were now in a state favourable to his designs ; the popularity of Cathal O'Conor had declined as rapidly as it rose ; and a strong party was formed to raise his cousin Carragh to the throne. The aspiring Carragh solicited and obtained the assistance of De Burgho. By his aid Cathal was dethroned, after a brief and faint resistance. He fled to Ulster, and a large share of his domains were assigned to De Burgho for his timely aid. Cathal had sufficient influence with the northern chieftains to obtain from them a powerful army. He even contrived to gain the support of Lacy and De Courcy ; and thus, for the first time, the Norman barons were divided against each other. Carragh and De Burgho defeated Cathal and his allies in a desperate engagement. The northern septs attributed the calamity to the incapacity of their prince, whom they immediately deposed ; and Ulster, like Connaught, was of course distracted by all the evils of a disputed succession. Cathal did not yet despair of success. He solicited the friendship of De Burgho, who felt dissatisfied with the small reward given him by the usurper, and drew him over to his side by magnificent promises, which he had no intention to fulfil. A second revolution ensued, in which Carragh was slain, fighting bravely to the last. Cathal was restored to his throne ; but De Burgho found that the valuable cessions which he expected were not to be obtained. Stung by this falsehood and ingratitude, the proud baron invaded Connaught, but suffered a defeat ; and, before he could take measures to retrieve his fortunes, he was recalled to Limerick by the appearance of a more formidable enemy. The Lord-deputy, finding that De Burgho had virtually renounced his allegiance by making peace and war at his pleasure, advanced with a numerous army to reduce

him to obedience. He was joined by several of the Irish princes who equally feared and hated the powerful baron ; and thus reinforced, Meiler Fitz-Henry soon forced De Burgho to submission. At the same time new treaties were formed with the Irish princes of the south and west, which for a short time restored tranquillity to that part of the country.

While Fitz-Henry was employed against De Burgho, Lacy with his brother marched against De Courcy, who was said to have abjured allegiance to John as a usurper and murderer. The entire details of the subsequent transactions are unknown ; but the writers of Irish history have invented an ingenious romance, which, though improbable in all its parts, and contradicted by authentic documents yet in existence, has been gravely narrated by all the earlier writers. They tell us that De Courcy was betrayed to Lacy by his servants ; but, though surprised, he made a fierce resistance, and with a wooden cross slew thirteen of his assailants. Lacy retained the noble prisoner, but punished with death the traitors who had sold their master. De Courcy was sent to England, and confined in the Tower, where he long remained neglected and forgotten. At length, a French champion comes over in the train of King Philip, and challenges all the chivalry of England. No one ventures to enter the lists with a knight of his fame, when John at length recollects the hero whom he had so long confined in a dungeon. De Courcy readily agrees to meet the Frenchman. On the appointed day he appears in the lists ; but the challenger, terrified by his Herculean proportions, refuses the combat, and returns home in disgrace. To gratify the curiosity of the two monarchs, De Courcy orders a coat of mail to be

placed on a post driven firmly into the earth. He strikes it with his sword, divides the mail as it were gossamer-threads, and drives the sword so deep into the stake, that it can be extricated by him alone. Hereupon he is restored to the royal favour, and reinstated in his title and estates. He is offered any additional favour that he may desire ; and asks and obtains, for himself and his descendants, the privilege of remaining covered in the presence of their sovereign.

The only portion of truth in the entire legend is, that De Courcy was sent a prisoner to England. John and the King of France never presided in the same lists ; and the restoration to the royal favour is manifestly false, because the earldom of Ulster, and all the lands belonging to it, were granted to Hugh de Lacy ; and the privilege of wearing a hat in the royal presence, enjoyed by the barons of Kinsale, De Courcy's descendants, is a harmless privilege, originating nobody knows how, and few would care for ascertaining. It is justly remarked by Leeland, that this instance of the falsification of history by the Irish Sennachies, fully justifies the scepticism with which their boasts of extravagant antiquity and early civilization are received ; for the earlier the date assigned to their legends, the more difficult will be their detection.

The vigorous administration of Fitz-Henry released the English settlers from the imminent dangers with which they were threatened. Cork was recovered and secured by new fortifications ; the incursions of the northern septs were restrained by castles erected along their frontiers ; and the toparchs of Desmond and Thomond were either terrified into submission, or so engaged in domestic feuds, that they

had no inclination to renew their attacks on the foreigners. At this tranquil moment John resolved to pay Ireland a visit, for the purpose of chastising Braosa—by whose wife he had been insulted—and restraining the power of the Lacy's, who, by John's injudicious grants, had been raised almost to the rank of princes (A. D. 1210). On the King's arrival in Dublin, Braosa and the Lacy's fled to France, where the latter were reduced to such distress, that they could only support themselves by becoming gardeners in a monastery. Their dignified bearing, after some time, betrayed their rank to the abbot; and, having learned their history, he interceded so powerfully for them with John, that, on paying a heavy fine, they were eventually restored to their titles and estates. John's military operations were confined to the reduction of several castles belonging to the Lacy's in Meath; and, though he received the homage of several Irish princes, he did not in any instance extend the bounds of the English dominion. The allegiance tendered by the toparchs was merely nominal; and one of them, the chief of the Hy-Nials, set the King at defiance a few days after he had performed the idle ceremony of submission. There was, however, a beneficial change made by the introduction of the English laws and jurisprudence into those districts which the Anglo-Normans possessed, and which, from this time forward, were usually called the English Pale; the lands subject to the King were divided into counties; sheriffs and other officers necessary to the administration of justice appointed; and supreme courts of law established in Dublin. The twelve counties established by John were, Dublin, Meath, Argial now called Louth, Kildare, Katherlagh now Carlow, Kilkenny, Water-

ford, Wexford, Cork, Kerry, Limerick, Tipperary. To these were subsequently added Roscommon and Connaught, but at what period is uncertain.

After John's return to England, the administration was confided to John de Grey, Bishop of Norwich, who kept Ireland tranquil during the remainder of this troubled and disgraceful reign. We find that several Irish nobles and prelates shared in John's councils during his long contest with the Pope, and afterwards with his own subjects. Among these, Henry de Londres, who had succeeded Comyn as Archbishop of Dublin in 1213, was honourably conspicuous, by his opposition to the insolent demands of Pandolph the Papal legate, and by the indignant remonstrance he made against the humiliating submissions demanded from his sovereign. The power of the native Irish princes seemed rapidly declining. The Northern sept of Hy-Nial, indeed, still maintained their independence and their inveterate hostility to the foreign dynasty; but Cathal O'Connor, no longer able to resist De Burgh in the field, was forced to petition the British monarch for protection, and to exchange his character as a warrior for that of a suppliant. The toparchs of Thomond and Desmond were similarly humbled; and, had proper advantage been taken of the opportunity, Ireland might at this time have been, without difficulty, entirely subjected to the English dominion.

The early part of the reign of Henry III. was distinguished by several wise measures, which tended greatly to remedy the evils produced by the misgovernment of John, both in England and Ireland. William, Earl of Pembroke and Earl Marshal, the young monarch's guardian during his minority, was

possessed of extensive estates in both islands, and set an example, rarely followed by English statesmen and Irish proprietors, of paying equal regard to the interests of both countries. The great charter was confirmed, and its provisions extended to Ireland ; the administration of the local government intrusted to Geoffrey de Maurisco, a knight celebrated for military skill ; and with him was joined Henry de Londers, a prelate still more eminent for political wisdom. The reconciliation of the native Irish to the dominion of their invaders was the best evidence of the superior ability that now ruled the councils of the state ; and, so completely had they resigned all hopes of independence, that they petitioned the King to send one of the royal family to rule in Ireland, in order that his lustre might obscure the disgrace of submission, and the respect due to royal blood might control the turbulence of the powerful barons. Unfortunately this request was rejected. The death of the Earl of Pembroke followed soon after ; his policy died with him ; and Ireland entered on a new career of distraction, and suffering, and desolation.

A. D. 1219.—Immediately after his father's death, William, the young Earl of Pembroke, was suddenly called into Ireland, to check the inroads of the Lacy's, who had attacked his castles, and determined to seize his estates. While this struggle devastated Leinster, the Lord-deputy was engaged in war with the MacArthys of Desmond, and the De Barghos were involved in a fierce struggle with the O'Connors of Connaught. After a bloody but desultory warfare, the Lacy's were defeated, and the Princes of Desmond forced to submission. The De Barghos, however, were defeated in Connaught ; and Fedlim

O'Connor, taking advantage of the disgrace of Hubert de Burgho in England, not only obtained from Henry a confirmation of his title and possessions, but a mandate to the Lord-deputy Maurice Fitzgerald, to assist in restraining his enemy's usurpations. On the death of William, Earl of Pembroke, his title and estates devolved on his brother Richard, a popular young nobleman, odious to the King and his unworthy favourites, on account of his spirited resistance to their unwise and arbitrary measures. Under the most frivolous pretexts, an attempt was made to strip him of his inheritance ; and he, provoked by such outrage, had recourse to arms. He levied some forces in Ireland ; and, returning to Wales, fortified himself in his castle of Pembroke. The royal forces sent against him were defeated ; and the unpopularity of the ministry rendered it probable that this example of successful resistance would lead to a general insurrection. The King and his creatures, unable to subdue Earl Richard, determined to deprive him of his Irish estates, and sent over letters declaring his extensive possessions forfeited, and ordering them to be shared between Maurice Fitzgerald—the Lord-deputy, the Lacy's, the De Burghos, Geoffrey de Maurisco, and some other barons. Such an allurement was not to be resisted by the avaricious adventurers. They immediately proceeded to take possession ; and, just as tranquillity was restored in Wales, Earl Richard was recalled to the defence of his estates in Ireland. On his landing, he was joined by the treacherous De Maurisco, who pretended to aid his quarrel, in order to ensure his destruction. Several successful expeditions were undertaken ; but, at the moment when the Earl was about to engage

his enemies in a pitched battle, De Maurisco drew off his forces, and Richard was left with only fifteen followers to support the attack of one hundred and forty chosen men. Even under these circumstances, the gallant Earl disdained to yield. His followers, with equal spirit, shunned not the hopeless contest. They fell, overwhelmed by numbers; and Richard, having fallen senseless by a dagger-wound, was carried to a neighbouring castle, where he soon expired.

The death of this heroic and popular nobleman excited universal indignation, both in England and Ireland; and the King, with dissimulation equal to his former perfidy, disavowed all knowledge of the transaction, and threw the blame on the Bishop of Winchester. But he did not check the depredations committed on the estates of the deceased Earl, nor restore his inheritance to his brother Gilbert, until compelled by fear of the King of Scotland, whose sister Gilbert had married. At length, a hollow pacification was effected; Gilbert was allowed to enjoy his estates without interruption; and Fitzgerald purchased pardon for the destruction of Earl Richard, by founding a monastery where masses should be celebrated periodically for the repose of his soul. About the same time, Fedlim O'Connor appeared at court, to complain of the usurpation of the De Burghos, who steadily pursued their career of violence and extortion. Moved by a dread of this proud and powerful sept, perhaps also in some degree influenced by a sense of justice, Henry sent strict orders that the territories of O'Connor should be protected from further depredations. In return for

this unusual act of equity, Fedlim led a strong body of auxiliaries to the King's assistance in the Welch war, and performed good service against Prince David.

The rest of this troubled reign presents an unvarying scene of petty wars, produced by baronial usurpations. The Geraldines seized on several districts of Desmond, in spite of the resistance made by the powerful sept of the MacArthys. The De Burghos, with less success, endeavoured to make themselves masters of Connaught; and the inferior barons, equally bent on aggrandizement, seized on the lands of those toparchs, who were too weak to make effective resistance. So little was the royal authority respected, that the Geraldines seized and imprisoned a Lord-deputy for opposing their usurpations; and it was not without difficulty, that they were persuaded to set him at liberty. The barons were at war, not only with the natives, but with each other; and the devastations committed in their several expeditions, added to the failures of several successive harvests, reduced the wretched country to a state which the imagination may possibly conceive, but which no human pen can portray.

The miseries of this calamitous period were aggravated by the extortions of the Pope, and the tyranny of the clergy. The royal troops were employed in levying the tribute claimed by his Holiness; and the enormous demands of the King were in turn sanctioned by the Pope. Efforts were made by both to fill all valuable ecclesiastical offices with foreigners. The native clergy made a spirited resistance; but the powers against which they had to strive were too formidable. Their real strength, the

confidence of the people, had been destroyed forever at the Council of Cashel. Nor was the conduct of the Irish prelates much better than that of their oppressors. The records of the period, scanty as they are, contain several instances of prelatic rapacity and insolence, which would scarcely be credible, were they not supported by the authority of official documents, and in perfect accordance with the spirit manifested by the church in that misguided age.

The administration of justice was almost wholly neglected ; and, though repeated proclamations were issued, commanding the observance of the English laws and charters under the severest penalties, we find that they were all ineffectual ; and that a mandate was obliged to be issued, entreating, rather than commanding, the barons, that, for the sake of public tranquillity, they would *permit* the country to be governed by the laws of England. The Irish still preserved their Brehon code ; and, in a curious remonstrance of Fedlim O'Connor to King Henry, we find, among other claims of damages for the cruelties and robberies of De Burgho, a charge of three thousand marks for the burning of churches and the massacre of the clergy. Several of the native Irish, in the immediate vicinity of the pale, finding the inconvenience of this motley mixture of jurisdiction, purchased charters of denization, by which they became entitled to the benefits of English subjects ; but the barons vigorously opposed the extension of such privileges, and the English government had not sufficient strength to overcome their resistance.

In the latter part of his reign, Henry invested his son Edward with the title of Lord of Ireland ; but

the young prince never visited the country. The barons disregarded his authority; and, after his departure to the Crusades, his title was utterly neglected.

CHAPTER VI.

The Reigns of Edward I. II. and III.

A. D. 1272.—THE accession of Edward I. produced no beneficial change in the state of Ireland. The Geraldines, now become the most powerful of the Norman barons, waged incessant wars both on the native princes and their rival peers, in order to extend their influence and possessions; and the marriage of the young Lord De Clare to a daughter of their house, promised them the means of gratifying their ambition. Edward inconsiderately gave De Clare a grant of extensive domains in Thomond, without paying any regard to the rights of the native possessors; but when De Clare came to enforce his claims, the O'Briens laughed him to scorn, and he was forced to have recourse to arms. Aided by his father-in-law Maurice, De Clare invaded Thomond; but was completely defeated, and obliged to accept peace on the most mortifying conditions. De Clare returned to England, and laid his complaints before the King; at the same time, intelligence of fresh commotions in various districts was received; and Edward, justly indignant, recalled Ufford, the Lord-deputy. But the troubles in Scotland began now to engross all the attention of the English monarch; and, after a brief inquiry, he restored Ufford to his go-

vernment, having recommended him to exert all his vigour in repressing these disgraceful commotions.

A century had now elapsed since the Norman invasion ; repeated defeats had broken down the spirit of the Irish princes ; all hopes of repelling the foreigners were resigned ; and those who lay contiguous to the English settlements, were only eager to secure the protection of the English law. To obtain this valuable privilege, they offered to the King, through his deputy, a subsidy of eight thousand marks, on condition of being admitted to the rights of British subjects ; and Edward, who was attached to justice when it did not interfere with the schemes of his ambition, eagerly hastened to perform their reasonable request. In this, as in a thousand subsequent instances, the wise and benevolent measures of the government were defeated by the local aristocracy. They preferred their own ascendancy to the interests of the state. They were eager to prevent a body of men, whom they could tax and oppress at pleasure, from sharing in the immunities of English subjects. Exclusion was the first, and almost the only principle recognised by the different oligarchies which successively held under their control the destinies of Ireland ; and to preserve this darling principle, they unhesitatingly sacrificed the peace and prosperity of that country, and not unfrequently perilled its connexion with England. An evasive answer was returned to the royal mandate ; but the sufferings of the people urged them to renewed applications, and two years after they repeated their request. On this occasion, the King earnestly recommended the consideration of the petition to the Lords Spiritual and Temporal of Ireland ; but both were too deeply

interested in perpetuating abuses, and Edward's wise designs were again defeated.

The civil wars between the barons were soon renewed with all their former violence. They took advantage of their disorders, and laid waste the new settlements. The Lords-deputies were destitute of power or influence, and the royal authority was scarcely recognised. William de Vesey was sent over to remedy these disorders ; but unfortunately he became involved in a contest with the Geraldines, which ended in his ruin. A more vigorous and successful effort was made by his successor Sir John Wogan. He prevailed on the rival houses of De Burgho and Fitzgerald to consent to a truce ; and having thus partially restored tranquillity, he summoned a parliament to take the public grievances into consideration (A. D. 1295). Several judicious acts were made by this assembly, the first that appears to have been constitutionally convened in Ireland ; but the general corruption of morals could not be cured by legislative enactments ; and though peace was so far restored, that several Irish barons were enabled to attend Edward in his wars against Scotland, hostilities were continued by their followers, and their settlements devastated during their absence.

The death of Edward I. while marching against the Scotch, and the pusillanimous retreat of Edward II., was followed by the dispersion of the army, and the Irish nobles returned home. De Burgho having obtained, by marriage, the title of Earl of Ulster, and the extensive estates of the Lacy's, was now virtually the Lord of Ireland ; but he did not abuse his power ; and, content with the barbarous pomp of feudalism, he allowed his weaker neighbours to remain unmolested. The insane attachment of Edward to his

unworthy favourite Gavestone, whom he had recalled in spite of the solemn promise plighted to his dying father, gave so much displeasure to the English nobility, that they formed an association too powerful for the sovereign to resist, and compelled the dismissal of the obnoxious minister. The King was very reluctant to part with his minion; and at length appointed him governor of Ireland, whence he might be recalled at the first favourable opportunity. The administration of Gavestone was distinguished by vigour and ability. He repressed the incursions of the hostile Irish, and repaired the castles that were erected along the marches of the English Pale. Unfortunately, his haughtiness and love of ostentation, which had been the cause of his expulsion from England, still continued, and excited against him the hatred of the barons, whom he affected to despise. Before these angry feelings could produce open war, Gavestone was recalled by his unwise master; and soon after, Sir John Wogan was reappointed to the government. He came in time to witness a new civil war between the De Burghos and Geraldines, whose violence it was not in his power to restrain. The issue of the contest, however, proved favourable to a temporary restoration of tranquillity; for De Burgho being taken prisoner, entered into terms of accommodation, which were cemented by the marriage of his daughters to Maurice and Thomas Fitz-John, afterwards the heads of the illustrious houses of Desmond and Kildare.

A. D. 1314.—This alliance between the leaders of the two parties, whose hostility had hitherto been the great source of intestine broils, promised to secure the country an interval of tranquillity; but a new storm from an unexpected quarter was impend.

ing, which produced fresh and greater calamities. The memorable triumph of the Scotch over the mighty army of England on the field of Bannockburn, produced great excitement in Ulster. Constant tradition declared, that the northern Irish were descended from the same stock as the Albanian Scotch, though antiquaries had not yet begun to discuss the relative antiquity of the branches. The Ulster princes were delighted at the success of their brethren, and anxious to emulate such an example of successful resistance. At the same time, Robert Bruce had season to dread the impetuous ambition of his brother Edward, and was consequently anxious to find some employment which might prevent him from engaging in an insurrection at home. The condition of Ireland presented to one brother the tempting prospect of a new kingdom, and assured to the other the tranquillity of his recovered dominions. Both eagerly embraced the opportunity; and emissaries were immediately sent through Ulster to stimulate the people to strike for freedom. The enterprise, however, had been nearly defeated in the very beginning, by the impatience of Edward Bruce. He crossed over with a small force, before his friends were prepared for his reception, and was forced to make a precipitate retreat. The news of this attempt created some alarm in England. The Deputy, Lord Edmund Butler, a worthy descendant of the gallant Fitz-Walter, was summoned over, with some other noblemen, to consult about the state of the kingdom; and orders were issued to take all proper precautions of defence. The winter was spent in deliberations; and Butler, with the other barons, returned in spring, barely in time to rescue the kingdom.

A. D. 1315.—On the 25th of May, Edward Bruce, at the head of six thousand hardy veterans, landed on the north-eastern coast, and was immediately joined by the principal toparchs of Ulster. There was no force in Ireland able to resist the combined armies. They fell on the unprotected settlements in the North, and butchered the colonists with as little mercy as they had themselves experienced. Castles were stormed ; Dundalk, Atherde, and almost every town of note burned ; and, in a very short space of time, no trace of the English remained in Ulster, but the desolation of their former dwellings. The news of these transactions spread dismay through the English Pale. Several barons were disposed to make terms with the invader ; others hastened to secure their possessions in the south and west. The Earl of Ulster and the Lord-deputy alone determined on a courageous resistance. The unreasonable pride of De Burgho, exhibited even at this important crisis, increased the danger. He rejected the proffered aid of the Lord-deputy, and assumed the entire conduct of the war. Being joined by Fedlim O'Connor, he advanced against Bruce ; but was defeated, though not decisively. Before the Earl could retrieve his losses, Fedlim was recalled by an insurrection in his own dominions ; and De Burgho, thus weakened, was soon after compelled to retire.

The army of Fedlim suffered so severely in this retreat from the hostility of the northern septs, that he was unable to resist his rival ; and the dispirited forces of De Burgho could lend him no effectual assistance. He was, however, soon relieved by the arrival of Sir Richard Birmingham with a select body of English soldiers. By the aid of this reinforce-

ment, he was enabled to take the field. His rival fell in the engagement that ensued ; and Fedlim was restored to his former dignity and possessions. But gratitude had no place in the breast of the Irish prince. The first use he made of his recovered power, was to enter into a strict alliance with Bruce, and draw his sword against his deliverers. The O'Briens of Thomond, and a great proportion of the toparchs of Munster and Meath, followed his example. Even the descendants of English settlers, and especially the once powerful Lacy's, declared themselves adherents of the Scottish invader. A great body of the native clergy eagerly embraced his cause ; the rest waited for the Pope's decision, for they knew that the Bruces were not on the best of terms with his Holiness. Confident of success, Edward Bruce was solemnly crowned at Dundalk, and immediately afterwards prepared to march southwards—a step now become imperatively necessary, for the resources of the north were exhausted, and his army suffering the extremity of famine.

Fitz-Thomas, baron of O'Phaly, the head of the Geraldines, and Butler, the Lord-deputy, made every exertion to prepare for the coming irruption, and were immediately rewarded with the titles of Earls ; the former of Kildare, the latter of Carrick. The other Lords of the Pale also declared themselves determined to support the King with their lives and fortunes, and readily gave hostages for their allegiance to Hotham, the royal commissioner. The most pressing danger arose from the revolt of Fedlim O'Connor, who had already defeated several inferior leaders, and severely harassed the settlements in Connaught. A powerful army, commanded by William de Burgho, brother of the Earl of Ulster, and

Sir Richard Bermingham, was therefore sent into the western districts, to restrain and chastise these revages. Fedam, encouraged by previous success, ventured to hazard a pitched battle. The engagement took place near the town of Athenry, and was long and bloody. At length, the Irish were routed with terrible slaughter ; their monarch, and most of their princes, were among the slain. This was the most decisive victory which the settlers had ever obtained. The power of the O'Connors family was irretrievably destroyed, and the entire province of Connaught placed at the mercy of the De Burghos. An interesting anecdote of fidelity is recorded by the original narrators of this battle. They tell us, that after the battle, Sir Richard Bermingham directed one of his attendants, named Hussey, to search the field, and try whether the body of his great enemy, O'Kelly, was among the slain. Accompanied by a single attendant, Hussey commenced his search ; and O'Kelly, who had heard the orders, came with his squire from a thicket in which he had been concealed, and, presenting himself to Hussey, endeavoured to seduce him from his allegiance. He represented to the young page the inferiority of the station assigned him by Bermingham, and made the most liberal promises of wealth and preferment if he would desert his master's banners. Dazzled by such splendid offers, Hussey's servant eagerly besought him to comply ; but the young page indignantly slew him as a traitor. He was immediately assailed by O'Kelly and his servant ; the latter he luckily felled to the earth by a single blow ; and, after a tedious combat, he struck down O'Kelly with a mortal wound. The servant, in the mean time, had partially recovered ; and Hussey compelled him to take

up the body of his master, and bear it to the English camp. When Birmingham heard the account of this gallant exploit, he immediately conferred the honour of knighthood on his page, and assigned him a large estate out of the forfeited possessions of the O'Connors.

The death of his ally did not check the operations of Edward Bruce. He extended his ravages to the very walls of Dublin, and filled the capital with consternation. The Earl of Ulster, having been married to a sister of the Scottish King, was suspected of favouring the pretensions of Bruce; and his inaction during the incursion seemed to prove, that he was not a steady supporter of his rightful sovereign. On this account, he was seized and thrown into prison by the chief magistrate of Dublin; nor could all the remonstrances of the English government procure for a long time his liberation. Walter de Lacy, after having solemnly disavowed all connection with the Scotch, joined Bruce, and acted as his guide, in the march of the invaders, through Meath and Leinster. Led by this traitor, Bruce traversed Ossory, and even penetrated into Munster; but the savage devastations of his licentious soldiery alienated the affections of the inhabitants, who were previously disposed to regard him as a liberator; and the Geraldines were easily enabled to collect an army sufficient to prevent his farther advance.

The soldiers of the Geraldines were too deficient in arms and discipline for the leaders to hazard a regular battle; but they were soon reinforced by the new Lord-deputy, Roger Mortimer, who landed at Waterford with a train of forty knights and their attendants. Bruce was now compelled to retreat, which he did with precipitation, leaving the Lacy's

exposed to all the consequences of their rash rebellion. Mortimer exacted a heavy vengeance from the faithless chieftains. He seized all their castles and estates in Meath, and compelled them to seek refuge in the wilds of Connaught. The English interest soon began to revive ; and the Pope lent his powerful assistance to restore its ascendancy. Sentence of excommunication was solemnly pronounced against Bruce and all his adherents, but more particularly those priests who had preached so zealously in his cause. This interference seems to have been anticipated ; for the northern Irish princes sent a deputation to Rome, in order to lay before the Pontiff a full statement of all the evils which the English had inflicted on their country. It was, indeed, a black catalogue of crimes, and yet there is something irresistibly ludicrous in the manner of describing the grievances. The massacre of thousands is placed on the same scale as the imprisonment of a prelate ; and the injury done to a cathedral described as more atrocious than the robbery of a nation. Pope John XXII. transmitted the appeal to Edward, with a recommendation to redress all these wrongs, lay and clerical ; but the state of the country prevented the introduction of any improvements.

After the departure of Mortimer, the administration was intrusted successively to the Archbishops of Cashel and Dublin. They published the bulls of excommunication, and ordered them to be read daily at every mass celebrated in the English army. The Archbishop of Armagh did not confine himself to spiritual weapons ; he resided constantly in the camp, and took an active part in directing all military operations. In the mean time, Bruce's army was enduring the most horrible extremities of famine. Shut-

up in the northern districts, which had lain desolate since the commencement of the war, he could not procure any subsistence for his followers. The most loathsome and revolting objects were eagerly sought by the famishing wretches ; and we are assured, that they even fed on the dead bodies of their brethren. Robert Bruce, hearing of his brother's precarious situation, made hasty preparations to bring him relief; but by this means only accelerated his ruin. Jealous of his brother's fame, Edward determined that victory should be entirely his own, and hastily led his forces against Sir Richard Bermingham, who had advanced into Ulster at the head of fifteen thousand men (A. D. 1318). The fate of Ireland was decided at the battle of Dundalk. The famished Scots were broken by the physical strength of their opponents; the Irish felt that they fought under the curse of the church ; while the English were roused by the belief that heaven was on their side, and that the blessing pronounced on their arms by the primate, that very morning, rendered them invincible. In the midst of the engagement, Bruce was singled out by an English knight, named Maupas ; and so furious was the encounter, that both fell dead together on the plain. The carnage was frightful ; for quarter was refused to wretches who had incurred the penalties of excommunication. A few escaped by their superior knowledge of the country, and carried to their brethren certain intelligence, that their hopes of independence were frustrated for ever. In a few days after, Robert Bruce arrived on the coast ; but hearing of his brother's fate, he immediately retired ; and Bermingham, thus freed from all apprehensions of the Scotch, led back his victorious troops, having

first expelled from their lands the toparchs that had been the most zealous supporters of Bruce. The successful general was created Earl of Louth, and baron of Atherdee—a distinction which he well deserved.

The evils of war are not to be measured merely by the number of the slain, or the extent of devastation; there are frequently calamities more oppressive, and more permanent, which escape the notice of the ordinary historian. Bruce had been slain, his followers dispersed, and tranquillity of some kind restored; but the land was desolate, the exchequer empty, the soldiers mutinous for pay, the people starving for lack of food. The great barons, who always maintained a large train of followers, were unable to support their retainers, and they began to exact what they called “coyne and livery,”—in other words, pay and food for their soldiers. This compendious mode of supporting an army, by quartering it immediately on the people, has been more than once tried in Ireland. It has been found an excellent means of converting a petty disturbance into a formidable insurrection, and of diffusing through some devoted district, intense hatred of a government that exposed the peasant’s little property to licensed plunder, and his wives and daughters to insult and pollution. But the Irish oligarchies never were famous for looking to remote consequences. They did not fear the serf, whom they crushed down by their brute force; but the wretch incapable of obtaining open redress, sought for secret revenge. They believed that the money wrung from their oppressed tenants was clear gain; but they saw not, that, when the substantial yeomanry fled before extortion, and their places were supplied by miserable thralls, that the land was no

longer efficiently cultivated, and that their actual receipts bore an amazing disproportion to their nominal rent-roll.. The fable of the boy and the goose that laid golden eggs, has been often faithfully and fatally realized in Ireland. The landlord that robs his tenantry of a fair share of their profits, is his own worst enemy ; he destroys all motives to industry ; he puts a stop to the improvement of his own ground ; he actually offers a premium for exhausting the fertility of his own land. If no better motive has any influence over the minds of Irish proprietors, self-interest ought long since to have shown them the ruin that such short-sighted avarice was bringing on themselves as well as on their country ; and it might, if miserable pride had not interfered—the pride of showing an enormous rent-roll, in which the first figure to the left was rarely significant. “ It is well to have at least the name of the thing,” is recorded as an Anglo-Irish proverb in the earliest times ; and this love of the name, without the reality, continues to the present day. It is easy to swell the nominal income, by demanding L.10 per acre for ground not worth half the sum ; but the tenant will be unable to perform his promise. In many such cases, he will pay very little ; in most, nothing. But we have digressed from the first establishment of the system to its present modified operation, and must now resume the regular course of our narration.

The exaction of coyne and livery was first commenced by Maurice Fitz-Thomas of Desmond ; and the severity with which this arbitrary tax was levied, was so great, that Baron Finglas declares “ it would destroy hell, if used in the same.” Finglas was Chief Baron of the Irish Exchequer, and, subsequently, Chief Justice of the King’s Bench in the reign of

Henry VIII.; and his brief account of the evils that followed from this tyranny, comes to us recommended by the weight of judicial authority, independent of the internal evidence of its truth. He says, " Nevir sithence did the Geraldines of Mounster, the Butlers, ne Geraldines of Leinster, obediently obey the King's lawes in Irlaund ; but continually allied themselves with Irishmen, useing continually coyne and livery, whereby all the londe is now of Irish rule, except the little English Pale, within the counties of Dublin and Myeth, and Uriell (Louth), which passe not thirty or fourty miles in compasse. Item, in the forsaid mannere for the lacke of punishment of the grete lordes of Mounstere by ministracione of justice, they, by ther extortione of coyne and livery, and othir abusions, have expelled all the English free-holders and inhabitants out of Mounster ; so that in fiftie yeres passid was none ther obedient to the Kyng's laws, except cities and walled townes ; and soo this hath been the deacie of Mounster." The Geraldines unhesitatingly seized on the lands of all the proprietors whom their oppression drove into exile ; and in a very few years Desmond was the prince, rather than the proprietor, of Waterford, Cork, Kerry, and Limerick. Thus began the fatal system under which Ireland continues to suffer at the present hour ; a system pursued with little variation by every race of landlords which the different revolutions introduced ; a system of giving the land only to miserable serfs, and discouraging, by every means, the growth of an independent middle class. The feudal barons drove out the first race of freeholders ; the undertakers in the reigns of Elizabeth and James, refused to grant leases on such terms as would encourage a tenant to expend capital and industry on the land ;

the Cromwellian settlers steadily pursued the same course ; their descendants, through the greater part of the last century, invariably discouraged the protestant or English tenant, who refused to pay a rent which would deprive him of every comfort, and who felt himself entitled to the rights of a citizen, and the protection of equal laws. The natural consequence has been, that the landlords have heaped up the materials of a servile war, ever ready to explode ; and have kept the country on the verge of a general Agrarian insurrection, whose danger is increased by the violent means used to check its partial eruptions.

The conduct of the clergy, at this period, was not such as should have been expected from ministers of the gospel of peace. The ecclesiastics only imitated the barons in setting the English government at defiance ; but there was more consistency, more unity of purpose and design, in the opposition of the spiritual aristocracy. The barons were frequently forced to yield ; but the prelates uniformly prevailed in every contest. One circumstance illustrative of the daring spirit manifested by the bishops, as well as of the ludicrous fanaticism of the age, deserves to be recorded (A. D. 1324). Richard Ledred, Bishop of Ossory, having, for some unknown reason, become the enemy of a noble lady, named Dame Alice Ketler, summoned her, with her son and several of her dependents, before his spiritual court, on a charge of witchcraft. The indictment was wondrously specific, and the overt acts charged as precise as possible. She was accused of going through Kilkenny every evening, immediately before curfew, sweeping the refuse of the streets to her son's door, and muttering the poetic incantation—

" To the house of William my son,
Hie all the wealth of Kilkenny town."

It was further alleged, that she made assignations near a cross-road, with a demon named Robin Artysen, and provided a strange supper for her strange paramour, to wit, nine red cocks', and eleven peacock's eyes. After this delicate repast, it was stated that Alice and Robin were accustomed to help digestion by taking an evening excursion all the world over; and the broomstick which served as her charger was produced in court. Finally, it was stated that a sacramental wafer, on which the name of the devil was inscribed, had been found in her chamber. Notwithstanding this body of evidence, the lady was acquitted; but one of her attendants was found guilty, and executed. But the Bishop was not so easily foiled. The lady was again brought to trial, on a new charge of heresy, convicted, and burned at the stake; and Adam Duff, a gentleman of a respectable family in Leinster, being convicted of the same offence, shared the same fate. Lord Arnold de la Poer, seneschal of the palatinate to which Kilkenny then belonged, disgusted at these exhibitions of mingled folly and barbarity, interfered to check Ledred's proceedings. The Bishop immediately arrested him as a heretic; and when the Lord-deputy interfered for his protection, the undaunted prelate extended his charge to that personage himself.

In Ireland, now was exhibited the extraordinary spectacle, of the chief governor arraigned before the Bench of Bishops on a formal charge of heresy. All the business of the State was suspended, for the Lord-deputy was also Chancellor. Parliament, then sitting, was unable to proceed with any business,

and the courts of law were closed. After a long and tedious trial, the Lord-deputy was formally acquitted, and testified his joy by a magnificent banquet, open to all comers. Lord de la Poer was not equally fortunate. He had been seized by the Bishop in the first instance, and perished in the miserable dungeon to which he had been confined. Not satisfied with this vengeance, the Bishop appealed to Rome, and obtained a Papal brief, exhorting the King to prevent the growth of heresy in Ireland. But the mischief luckily reverted on the head of its author. Ledred was himself accused of heresy before his metropolitan, and forced to save himself by a precipitate retreat. The remainder of his worthless life was spent in poverty and exile; but the effects of his mischievous efforts were long and lasting.

A. D. 1327.—During the administration of the Earl of Kildare, a civil war commenced, in which the greater part of the English barons were engaged. The cause of this furious contest was the most trivial imaginable. The Lord de la Poer had called Maurice of Desmond *a rhymier*; and Maurice, probably believing that the imputation of any literary attainment was inconsistent with the barbarous dignity which he affected, resolved to revenge the affront by arms. The Butlers and Berminghams joined the side of Maurice. De la Poer was assisted by the De Burghos. The struggle was long and dubious; for, though Poer was easily driven from his territories, his allies could not be subdued with equal facility. The lands were laid waste by the furious inroads of the rival partisans; and the Irish septs in Leinster took advantage of these commotions to revolt. In the midst of these tumults Kil-

dare died, and was succeeded by Roger Outlaw, Prior of Kilmainham.

The first effort of the prelate was to reconcile the barons ; and in this he succeeded the more easily, as they were alarmed at the extent of their own devastations. The Irish septs, hopeless of success, also tendered their submission, and again petitioned to be admitted to the privileges of British subjects. But the barons were too fond of their old system of policy, to allow those whom they destined to be their serfs to obtain the privileges of freemen. They declared the proposed grace injurious to the cause of English ascendancy, and, by their combined influence, disappointed at once both King and people.

The Irish were justly indignant at this gross instance of tyranny and injustice. They immediately took up arms, and, ranging themselves under the banners of O'Brian, Prince of Thomond, obtained several advantages over the English in Leinster. Their career was marked by ruthless massacre and desolation. We are told, that on one occasion, they surrounded a church in which about eighty English settlers were assembled. These unfortunate victims, hopeless of escape, petitioned for the safety of their pastor ; but even this was refused. The priest was the first victim. He was slain at the very altar, and the consecrated elements trampled in the dust. The invaders had first shown the example of despising all that was in that age deemed holy. The example now reverted on themselves, and they were doomed to pay a heavy penalty for their former excesses. The Lord-deputy, finding the forces of the government unable to quell the insurrection, solicited the aid of Maurice of Desmond, and treated with this haughty dy-

nast more as an independent prince than a feudal baron. To secure the support of Maurice, he was created Earl of Desmond, and his territories erected into a county palatine, in which he was allowed to exercise independent jurisdiction. The number of palatinates was shortly after increased to nine ; Carlow, Wexford, Kilkenny, Leix, Meath, Ulster, and the territories of the Earls of Desmond and Ormond. The palatine lords in these districts exercised all the rights of sovereign princes ; made barons and knights ; exercised both criminal and civil jurisdiction ; appointed their own officers of justice ; and claimed the right of making war and peace at their pleasure. Under such circumstances, the authority of government was merely nominal, and the country was in effect divided into several independent sovereignties beyond the control of the crown.

Such was the condition of affairs when Sir Anthony Lucy was appointed to the government. He was an English knight, eminently distinguished for wisdom, firmness and valour, and there was rarely an occasion when such qualifications were more requisite in a lord-deputy. Suspecting that the Irish were secretly encouraged in their depredations by the barons, he summoned a parliament to meet him at Kilkenny. The thinness of the attendance, and the pretexts used by those who did come for departing again, converted his suspicions into certainty, and he took the decisive measure of arresting all the leading nobles. Desmond, Mandeville, the two De Burghos, and the two Berminghams, were thrown into prison by the spirited Deputy, and soon after brought to trial. William Birmingham was convicted on the clearest evidence, and immediately executed. Desmond was forced, after a long confinement,

to give great surety for his appearance, and was then sent into England.

The Irish nobles would scarcely have submitted to this rigour, but that Edward was expected to come over in person, and strictly investigate the state of affairs in Ireland. Extensive preparations were made, apparently for this expedition; but they were only intended to veil the monarch's real designs against Scotland. The forces collected on the western coast were suddenly ordered to march northwards; and Ireland was, as usual, neglected. The only measure taken to tranquillize the country, was the most injudicious that could possibly be adopted. The Prior of Kilmainham was directed to enter into terms of accommodation with all the insurgents of English and Irish race. He thus, indeed, for a time, restored a hollow tranquillity; but he revealed to the disaffected the secret of their own strength, and the royal weakness. About the same time, an event fraught with the most pernicious consequences occurred. The Earl of Ulster was assassinated by his own servants at Carrickfergus; and his Countess, with her infant daughter, fled to England in consternation. The vast estates of De Burgho were thus left without any adequate defence; and the King, who, as guardian of the infant heir, ought to have held them in ward, took no measures for their security. Of course, they became the prey of rapine and violence. The sept of the O'Nials took up arms, and, passing the river Bann, drove out the English settlers, after a desperate resistance. They then parcelled out the conquered territories amongst themselves, and gave them the name of Upper and Lower Clan-Hugh-Boy, in honour of their leader, Hugh-Boy O'Nial. The Earl's possessions in Con-

naught were seized by the junior branches of the De Burghos ; and, as the usurpers were conscious that the law of England would deprive them of their acquisition, they resigned at once the English law, language and name, and assumed the character of Irish toparchs, under the title of MacWilliam Oughter and MacWilliam Eighter, that is, the fur-ther and nether MacWilliam. Similar degeneracy was exhibited in almost every part of the country ; and it soon became proverbial, that the descendants of English settlers were *Hibernis ipsis Hiberniores*, "more Irish than the Irish themselves."

The course adopted by the government under these circumstances was so unsteady and vacillating, that the evils hourly increased. In a moment of impetuous indignation, Edward issued a proclamation, that none but those of English birth should be eligible to any office ; but, finding the Irish aristocracy preparing for resistance, he limited the exclusion to the native Irish, and eventually excepted from its operation all those who had obtained charters of privileges. Again, he encouraged the Lord-deputy Ufford in his vigorous efforts to control the Earls of Desmond and Kildare ; but immediately after, he took both these lords into favour, in order to procure their aid in the invasion of France. The Irish forces were honourably distinguished by their achievements in the French war ; and Kildare showed so much valour at the siege of Calais, that he received the honour of knighthood from the King's own hand. But these favours only served to exalt the pride of the Geraldines, and to make them less inclined to yield obedience as subjects.

A. D. 1353.—The only gleam of sunshine in this long and gloomy period was the brief adminis-

tration of Sir Thomas Rokeby. Mild in his manners, and upright in his conduct, this excellent governor successfully laboured to conciliate all parties by justice and moderation. When advised to enrich himself by arts well known to all that went before, and many that succeeded him, he nobly replied, "I am served without parade or splendour; but let my dishes be wooden, rather than my creditors unpaid." But the abilities of Rokeby were not equal to the purity of his intentions. Indeed, powers absolutely miraculous were required to tranquillize a land, where every spot was filled with the elements of discord, and where every person felt an interest in creating public disturbance.

A.D. 1361.—Edward, seeing the little respect paid to his deputies, resolved to commit the government of Ireland to his second son Lionel, Duke of Clarence, who had married the heiress of the Earl of Ulster. Extensive preparations were made to enable the young prince to conduct himself with vigour in his new government; and the highest expectations were formed of the benefits that were to follow from his visit. By one fatal error, all these well-grounded hopes were disappointed. The youthful Duke was surrounded by men of English birth, who induced him to slight the Lords of the Pale; and these haughty nobles refused to give him the least assistance in his military operations. Left to the guidance of his own inexperienced followers, Lionel marched against the O'Briens of Thomond; and, from his ignorance of the country, was soon involved in difficulties from which he saw no means of escape. In this mortifying condition, he was obliged to appeal to the compassion of the Lords of the Pale, by whom he was speedily relieved, and even enabled to

gain some advantages over the enemy. He returned soon after to England, having added a new and dangerous distinction to the parties, by which the country was already distracted. Henceforth, the terms, English by birth, and English by blood, became invidious marks of separation, and caused new hostilities as violent and inveterate as any yet recorded.

After a brief absence, during which the reins of government were held successively by the Earl of Ormond and Sir Thomas Dale, the Duke of Clarence returned, and summoned a parliament to consult on the state of the country (A. D. 1367). The most numerous and respectable assembly that had hitherto been convened in Ireland met on this occasion at Kilkenny. The result of their labours was an act memorable in the dark annals of Irish legislation, the celebrated **STATUTE OF KILKENNY**. It provided, that marriage, fosterage, or gossiped with the Irish, or submission to the Irish law, should be considered and punished as high treason. It declared, that if any man of English descent should use an Irish name, the Irish language, or observe Irish customs, he should forfeit his estates, until security was given for his conformity to English habits. It was also declared penal, to present a mere Irishman (that is, one who had not purchased a charter of denization) to any benefice, or to receive him into any monastery. And finally, it was strictly forbidden to entertain any native bard, minstrel, or story-teller; or to admit an Irish horse to graze on the pasture of a liege subject!

This precious specimen of legislation was lauded as a masterpiece of policy, by those who thought that the conversion of the English into mere Irish was the great danger to be apprehended; and even in

later times, there have been found some to join in the eulogy. Yet, could there be any thing more impolitic than thus to denounce all the institutions, civil and religious, of a people not yet subdued—and this too, after all their petitions for admission within the pale of the English law had been contumeliously neglected? In fact, the Irish were forced, by their oppressors, to retain their ancient system, and then punished for their adherence to what they would gladly have resigned. In the words of Lord Clare, “ it was a declaration of perpetual war, not only against the native Irish, but against every person of English blood, who had settled beyond the limits of the pale, and from motives of personal interest, or convenience, had formed connexions with the natives, or adopted their laws and customs : And it had the full effect which might have been expected ; it drew closer the confederacy it was meant to dissolve, and implicated the colony of the pale in ceaseless warfare and contention with each other, and with the inhabitants of the adjacent district.” The conduct of the clergy is not the least astounding part of this extraordinary proceeding. Not satisfied with their efforts in conveying the statute through the parliament, they denounced anathemas and excommunications on all those who disobeyed its provisions ; declaring that every thing Irish was an object of abhorrence to God and man. Three of these bishops were themselves Irishmen ; and we may well be surprised at the virulence with which these apostates branded the institutions of their violence. But our wonder ceases when we learn, that tithes and other ecclesiastic exactions were always resisted in those districts where the Brehon law prevailed.

But the Statute of Kilkenny failed to produce the

effects that Edward anticipated. The insurrections and civil wars continued ; the authority of the Lord-deputy was disregarded ; and the expense of the Irish government became a serious burden to the British Parliament (A. D. 1376.) Sir William Windsor, the Lord-deputy, by the royal command, assembled the parliament of the pale ; but they pleaded poverty, and refused the supplies. Edward had recourse to the extraordinary measure of summoning a species of Irish parliament to meet him in England. The Bishops were directed to send over two of the clergy from every diocese ; the commons were ordered to send two representatives from each county, and two burgesses from each city and borough. The returns made to these writs of summons prove clearly, that the prelates were as little disposed to submit to the royal power as the barons. The greater number of dioceses expressly prohibited their deputies from consenting to any subsidies ; and the counties and cities followed their example. Cork, Youghal, Ross, and a few other places, gave full powers to their representatives ; but the limitation placed on the majority rendered the whole proceeding nugatory. Money was the only thing the King wanted, and money was precisely the subject on which the different constituencies prevented the deputies from deliberating. The deputies went over and assembled at Westminster ; but as they had no authority, their debates were a mere idle form, and they soon separated. During the remainder of Edward's reign, the royal authority continually declined, and the unrestrained excesses of the barons kept the country in a state of the utmost misery. Foreign merchants refused to visit the hapless land without special letters of protection. Trade and commerce were, consequently, all but extinguish-

ed. New adventurers coming over from England, inflamed dissensions by their grasping avarice ; and the clergy, already demoralized, were further degraded by being employed to raise and lead armies, which the crown feared to intrust to the barons. These were the fatal consequences of Edward's foreign wars, which withdrew his attentions from his domestic concerns, and prevented him from applying any remedy to the evils which he saw and vainly lamented.

CHAPTER VII.

The History of Ireland during the Civil Wars between the Houses of York and Lancaster.

THE accession of the unfortunate Richard II. had no immediate effect upon the affairs of Ireland. The expenses, however, of its misgovernment, called the attention of the British Parliament to the state of that country, and they adopted the judicious measure of compelling absentees to return under pain of forfeiture. The war with France and Scotland, though not vigorously maintained by any of the belligerent powers, wasted them all by the encouragement it afforded to predatory expeditions. The coast of Ireland was long infested by a French fleet, until, at length, the enemy was overtaken in the harbour of Kinsale by the English, and completely defeated. Little of importance occurred during the administrations of the Earl of March and Sir Philip Courtney. The latter governor was removed in consequence of his illegal extortions ; but historians have not recorded the particulars of his crimes and punishment. The government was next conferred on the King's prime favourite, Robert de Vere, Earl of Oxford, and Marquis of Dublin. Extraordinary preparations were made for his departure ; but when he had proceeded as far as Wales, Richard found himself unable to

part with his minion, and the administration was managed by his deputies.

The English nobility soon revolted against the dominion which Oxford exercised ; and, after a brief struggle, he was driven into Flanders. His creatures in Ireland shared his fate. They were stripped of their power, and the administration confided to Sir John Stanley, and afterwards to the Earl of Ormond. The latter acted with more vigour than his predecessors. He compelled the O'Neals of Ulster to give hostages for their fidelity ; and he gained a great victory at Kilkenny over a numerous army of Irish insurgents. The disordered state of Ireland, however, continued to be the subject of bitter complaints in the English parliament ; and the King at length resolved to lead over a sufficient army, and complete the conquest of the country. He is said to have formed this resolution, partly because he dreaded the Duke of Gloucester, who was first nominated to the command, but principally on account of a sarcasm uttered by some princes of Germany, when Richard canvassed them for his election to the empire. Having married a Bohemian princess, he trusted that, by this connection, he had acquired sufficient interests to be chosen Emperor. But the electors refused to confer the dignity on one who had been unable to defend the acquisitions made by his ancestors in France—who could not control the factions of his English subjects, nor subdue the enemies of his authority in Ireland. The truth of this reproach made it the more bitter : and Richard determined to acquire military fame in Ireland, where he had the fairest prospects of success.

A powerful army, led by the King in person,

could not be resisted by the Irish toparchs. As soon as Richard landed, the native princes and the barons hastened to tender their allegiance, and perform homage. The vain-glorious King was satisfied with this appearance of submission ; he traversed the country in all the pomp of military triumph, and soon returned to England, after having expended enormous sums, and performed absolutely nothing.

The young Earl of March, who remained in Ireland as Lord-deputy, fatally experienced how delusive were the submissions which Richard had accepted. It had been stipulated, that the Irish septs should completely evacuate Leinster ; but when the time for the performance of the agreement arrived, they not only refused to stir, but boldly took up arms. In this petty war the Earl of March was slain, with several of his companions ; and Mac-Murchard, who, though pensioned by the King, headed the revolt, severely harassed the English settlements, no longer protected by the forces of the Deputy. When the news of these events reached England, Richard at once determined on a second expedition into Ireland, to avenge his cousin's death. Orders were issued for levying forces and raising money ; but the royal emissaries behaved so harshly in the execution of these commands, that the disaffection which the King's misconduct had already caused soon became universal. The banishment of Hereford, and the illegal seizure of his paternal property, had justly offended that powerful and popular nobleman. He had previously formed an extensive connection with a great body of the English nobility ; and Richard, just before his departure, added to the strength of the conspiracy, by proclaiming the Earl of Northumberland a traitor,

and his lands forfeited. Having thus almost wantonly provoked a rebellion, Richard set sail, and on the 13th day of May arrived in Waterford.

The entire progress of the weak monarch was marked by vanity and incapacity. When a great part of the season had been wasted in idle parade, he advanced against the enemy through a difficult country, where no provisions could be procured. MacMurchard, secure in his fastnesses, could not be forced to an engagement. He left the English to contend with his formidable allies—fatigue and famine;—enemies that soon thinned the ranks of the invaders. Richard, forced to retreat before an enemy he despised, had recourse to negotiation; but his terms were haughtily rejected by MacMurchard. Irritated by these disappointments, the King vowed never to return, until he had chastised the insolent chieftain; but the news that reached him from England soon compelled him to change his resolution. Unfavourable winds had prevented any intercourse between the two countries for some weeks; and when the weather changed, the news of Hereford's invasion, and its rapid success, came upon him like a thunderbolt. Even in this crisis, he neglected all reasonable precautions;—he delayed in Ireland until the Welch army, collected by the Earl of Salisbury, dispersed in despair; and he returned, with a scanty train, to a country where he had no longer a friend. He threw himself into the Castle of Conway, with the design of returning to Ireland; but was betrayed into the hands of his rival, and soon after perished in prison.

The usurpation of the House of Lancaster shook to its very foundation the English interests in Ireland. Henry IV. was too busily engaged in sup-

pressing the numerous insurrections, which the defect of his title encouraged, to pay any regard to the state of a distant province. His son, unfortunately, preferred the barren laurels acquired in France, to the substantial advantages which might have been acquired nearer home. During both these reigns, the Irish septs acquired fresh power and territory. They hemmed in the settlers on every side, and were paid a large tribute for granting them a precarious protection. The Statute of Kilkenny could no longer be observed, for there was no force to exact the penalties for its violation. The barons degenerated into Irish chieftains; the exactions of "coyne and livery" were levied in open violation of the law; and the Royal authority was so little regarded, that many Peers disdained to attend their duties in Parliament. The jealousy between the descendants of the old settlers and the English, by birth, assumed the appearance of national hostility, and was rendered more virulent by the unwise enactments of the English Parliament, and the indiscriminate rigour of the English administration. In the beginning of the reign of Henry V, an act was passed prohibiting Irish adventurers from coming to England; and all such as had previously arrived were ordered to depart forthwith. This law was extended, by the insolence and folly of the ministry, to the sons of the Irish nobility in the universities and inns of court. Stung by this insult, they returned home, anxious to harass a government by which they had been stigmatized, and restrained from open rebellion only by their dread of the native Irish. The governors and legal officers sent over from England, scarcely deigned to disguise their contempt of the old colonists; they even ventured to insult the

Parliament of the Pale ; and when the Legislature was anxious to present a petition of grievances to the Sovereign, the Chancellor (Merbury) refused to affix the seal, so that it could not be transmitted. The appointment of the Earl of Ormond as Lord-deputy, was a proof that the government began to be conscious of its error in excluding the Irish nobility from power ; and the tranquillity which he established proved the wisdom of this change. But Ormond was guilty of some great errors which more than counterbalanced his services. To aggrandize their own power was always the policy of the Butlers ; and in his haste to effect this favourite object, the Deputy did not always observe the dictates of equity, or even sound policy. In order to gain the assistance of the Earl of Desmond, in a struggle for power with the Talbots, Ormond not only procured for that nobleman a confirmation of his title and privileges, but also greatly extended his jurisdiction. James Earl of Desmond had obtained this rank by means equally criminal and extraordinary. His nephew, the rightful heir of Desmond, offended the prejudices of his retainers, by marrying a beautiful girl of inferior rank. They rose in rebellion, forced him to surrender his title and estate, and drove him into exile. Through the friendship of Ormond, James procured an acknowledgement of his claims from the Parliament, and permission from the Crown to purchase what lands he pleased, under whatever tenure they were holden. He was also constituted governor of the southern counties, and obtained the privilege of absenting himself from Parliament, and of voting on all questions by a sufficient proxy. The effect of these mischievous grants was soon manifested. Desmond

became, at the same time, conscious of his own strength, and jealous of Ormond. Mutual insults and recriminations exasperated their hatred, which finally brought on open war. Desmond had sufficient strength to resist the forces of his rival, though supported by all the strength of the government; and, after a desultory campaign, concluded a truce with all the form of an independent sovereign. The rivals of Ormond in Leinster, took the opportunity of his absence to send over such representations to Henry VI. as induced that weak monarch to remove him from the government.

Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, and now constituted Earl of Waterford, was the new Lord-deputy. He came attended by a gallant train, at the moment when fresh commotions were beginning to arise, which fortunately his power overawed. The new Deputy was a violent enemy of the Butlers; but Ormond was protected by the personal friendship of the sovereign; and his family, grateful for this kindness, continued ever after firmly attached to the house of Lancaster.

A. D. 1449.—A change now took place in the government, more important than any yet recorded, because its effects were more permanent and extensive. Richard, Duke of York, descended from an elder brother of the Prince, through whom the reigning family claimed their right to the throne, was universally beloved in England. His high birth and exalted station were of little moment, compared with the influence he derived from his exemplary virtues and consummate ability. Valiant in war, prudent in council, eloquent in debate, he was regarded by his peers as the brightest ornament of their order. Conciliating in his manners, of a kind disposition and fascinating address, he won the hearts of the commons, but too

justly wearied of aristocratic insolence. The contrast between this nobleman and his inglorious sovereign, was too glaring to escape observation. The claims of the house of York to the crown began to be canvassed publicly; and the disgrace of the English arms in France, rendered the people still more discontented with the Lancastrian dynasty. Margaret of Anjou, the proud queen of Henry, saw the danger to which her husband's crown was exposed, by the popularity of the Duke. His power was too great for her to attempt any open attack; and she therefore determined, on some honourable pretence, to remove him from the country. It was asserted in England, that the native Irish had joined in a formidable confederacy, and that, unless speedy measures were adopted, the English power in that country would be speedily overthrown. This furnished a plausible pretext for appointing the Duke Lord-deputy; and he was urgently entreated to hasten, with all speed, to suppress these imaginary commotions. The Prince, wiser than his adversaries, showed no reluctance in accepting the office. He justly believed that his sons would maintain the dignity of his family in England; while he, closely allied to the De Burghos, heir to the earldom of Ulster, and the lordships of Connaught, Clare, Trim, and Meath, could not fail to increase the number of his partisans, and the power of his house in Ireland. Before his departure, he took care to procure more extensive authority than had been granted to his predecessors. Besides the uncontrolled disposal of the Irish revenue, he stipulated for a pension from England; and he claimed the right of disposing of the King's land, and of appointing to all offices civil and military. In her eager haste to remove the Duke

from England, Margaret forgot the dangerous influence which such unparalleled powers would give the object of her jealousy in a country where the crown possessed no countervailing authority. The Duke's demands were readily granted, and he proceeded to Ireland with all the state of a sovereign.

The administration of the Duke of York is one of the brightest periods in Irish history. For years afterwards, it was quoted as the time when peace and prosperity ruled the land ; when the excesses of faction were restrained by impartial justice ; when the native Irish, the English by birth and the English by blood, forgetting former animosities, seriously applied themselves to improve the country which they inhabited in common. Even now, after the lapse of four centuries, the memory of these halcyon days is preserved in popular tradition ; and at this hour, the white rose, the cognizance of the House of York, is the favourite symbol of the partisans of the people. Though aware of the attachment of Ormond to the House of Lancaster, the Prince received him with the same kindness and attention that he showed to the Geraldines and De Burghos, his own faithful adherents. On the birth of his son, afterwards the unfortunate Duke of Clarence, the Deputy invited Desmond and Ormond to be the sponsors of the infant prince ; an honour which Desmond, filled with the extravagant ideas of gossipred that prevailed in Ireland, esteemed as almost raising him to an equality with the Duke, but which Ormond, enlightened by travel, viewed in its proper colours. The federal transactions with the Irish princes were marked with a regard to justice and good faith, such as had been rarely exhibited by former governors ; and, what none of them had evinced, he displayed an anxious desire

to improve the condition of the peasantry, and to protect them from the oppressive exactions of their lords. Such a paternal government, as excellent as it was rare, was rewarded by the most enthusiastic attachment of all classes. Its longer continuance would probably have made the growing reconciliation of hostile interest permanent : But, unfortunately, it has been too often the fate of Ireland, to lose her best governors at the very moment when their measures were most likely to be beneficial.

The rebellion of Jack Cade, who assumed the popular name of Mortimer, was supposed to have been secretly contrived by the Duke of York, in order to feel the pulse of the English people. Without making any inquiry into the truth of this surmise, the King, at the instigation of his haughty Queen, sent letters to the sheriffs of the western counties, declaring the traitorous designs of the Duke, and commanding them to oppose his landing. This indiscreet declaration of the fears and suspicions entertained by the court, afforded the Duke a pretext for returning to England. He declared his anxiety to justify his conduct, and his determination to face his accusers. Embarking with a small train, he landed in Wales, and, eluding all opposition, speeded to London, where he was apparently reconciled to the King.

The Duke, at his departure, intrusted the administration to Ormond. The Earl, being summoned over to England, was succeeded by the Archbishop of Armagh ; but troubles arising, which the peaceful prelate could not allay, he resigned his charge to Sir Edward Fitz-Eustace, a knight of great military fame, and well fitted for a government which required more than ordinary exertions. The O'Connors of Offally

were the first who experienced the vigour of the new Deputy. He surprised this turbulent sept while engaged in a predatory expedition, and inflicted on them a severe defeat. In the rout, the toparch O'Connor fell from his horse. He was remounted by his son, the companion of his flight, but fell a second time from exhaustion. It was long before the chieftain could persuade the youth to leave him to his fate ; but at length he commanded him to fly, under pain of incurring his displeasure. O'Connor remained a prisoner, but was only detained a short time. The Deputy, finding that he had no design of revolting, liberated him without ransom.

The sept of the O'Nials, ever the most hostile to the English, after long remaining quiet, were induced to take up arms by the hope of plunder. Hearing that a rich fleet was sailing from the bay of Dublin, they fitted out some barks, attacked and took the ships, plundered the cargoes, and made all the passengers, among whom was the Archbishop of Dublin, prisoners. The Deputy immediately hastened to punish these marauders ; and O'Nial, being joined by some other toparchs, advanced to anticipate the invasion. The two armies met at Ard-glass ; and, after a fierce engagement, the Irish were defeated with the loss of seven hundred slain, and a still greater number, including all the principal leaders, made prisoners. By this defeat, the O'Nials were so humbled, that they long continued quiet, and afforded the Deputy leisure to attend to the regulation of public affairs.

In the meantime, the dissatisfaction of the English public had produced a general revolt. The unfortunate Henry was made prisoner at St Alban's, and the whole authority of the crown was transfer-

red to the Duke of York. To strengthen his authority in Ireland, the Duke appointed the Earl of Kildare Lord-deputy ; and this nobleman being considered the chief of the old settlers, was gladly acknowledged by the descendants of the original conquerors. The death of his great rival Ormond, and of several turbulent toparchs, freed Kildare from the fear of civil commotions. The Butlers indeed, at first, made some resistance, but they were quickly subdued.

Margaret of Anjou was by no means disposed to submit to the loss of power, consequent on her husband's degradation. She assembled the partisans of the house of Lancaster, and defeated the Yorkists at Blore Heath with great slaughter. Deserted and betrayed, Duke Richard fled for safety to Ireland, while he and his adherents were attainted by the English Parliament. The Irish received their favourite governor rather as a sovereign prince than a destitute fugitive. The Parliament passed an act for his protection ; and further decreed, that whoever should attempt to disturb him or his adherents, under pretence of writs from England, should be deemed guilty of high treason. An agent of Ormond violated the law, and was immediately executed. Several laws, equally designed for the Duke's service, were passed with the utmost enthusiasm ; and the prince, who, a short time before, wanted a refuge, now found himself in possession of a kingdom.

Edward, Earl of March, the Duke's eldest son, had followed his father into Ireland, but was soon summoned to Calais, where the Yorkists, headed by the Earls of Warwick and Salisbury, had prepared a mighty armament. They passed into England ; and, having obtained a great victory at Northampton,

invited the Duke to come over and head his partisans in person. On this occasion, the attachment of his Irish adherents was eminently displayed. They crowded to his standard with the utmost zeal; and the district of Meath, in particular, was almost deserted by the English settlers, who hasted to enrol themselves under the banners of the white rose. With a gallant train of devoted followers, Richard returned to London; but Margaret unexpectedly renewed the war, and attacked the Duke before he could make adequate preparations. With only five thousand men, mostly his Irish adherents, he was encountered at Wakefield by an army four times more numerous than his own, and, in this unequal contest, fell, with the greater part of his followers.

This battle, in its consequences, proved fatal to the English interests. The best and bravest of the settlers had accompanied their beloved governor, and shared his fate. The Irish septs seized on the districts now stripped of their defenders; and the colonists were forced to purchase a precarious security, by paying a heavy tribute to the toparchs in their neighbourhood. The Earl of Kildare was chosen by the Irish privy council to administer the government, until a new Lord-deputy was appointed. He preserved the country tranquil during the brief struggle between Henry VI. and Edward IV., which terminated in favour of the house of York. One of Edward's first acts was, to appoint his brother George, Duke of Clarence, to the government of Ireland, and to reward the fidelity of his adherents in that kingdom, by elevating the leaders to the peerage. Clarence appointed Fitz-Eustace, now created Lord Portlester, his deputy. His former administration had been characterized by vigour and

talent—qualities again imperatively required, by the struggle which the Butlers were about to make for the house of Lancaster. The Earl of Ormond, whom the late King had raised to the English peerage, by the title of Earl of Wiltshire, had been seized and beheaded by the triumphant Yorkists; but his brothers and retainers were nothing daunted by his fate: they resolved not to mourn, but revenge it. Being joined by some Irish septs, and a great number of Lancastrian fugitives from England, they formed a party too numerous for the troops of the Deputy, who was forced to rely for success on the exertions of the Earl of Desmond. The hostility at this time between the Geraldines and the Butlers, was continually manifested by predatory incursions; and the eastern counties of Munster were incessantly disturbed by the war-cries of the contending factions. The Geraldines of Kildare took for their warison Crom-aboo from the castle of Croom, in the county of Limerick, where the chief resided. The Geraldines of Desmond shouted Shannatt-aboo from the castle of Shannatt, in the same county, where the Earl maintained a kind of barbarous court. The Butlers' war-cry was the name of their sept; and Butler-aboo was the cognizance of the troops in the palatiniate of Ormond, which included the counties of Kilkenny and Tipperary. In the long contest that was maintained by these rival septs, the Geraldines were honourably distinguished by dauntless valour, and a daring heroism, which bordered upon rashness. The Butlers, less valiant in the field, were more prudent in council. Artful, steady in purpose, crafty in intrigue, they frequently gained the fruits of victory after the severest defeat; and finally destroyed the gallant house of Desmond.

by cunning and fraudulent policy. The O'Briens of Thomond, whose war-cry was the imposing sentence, " Lamh-laider-aboe," (" the cause of the strong hand,") sometimes joined one and sometimes the other of these factious ; but, even when allies, they feared to trust the Butlers. " Fair and false like those of Ormond," was a proverbial expression with the sept, which is still preserved, though the cause is forgotten.

While on this subject, it may not be amiss to mention some few particulars of these baronial wars :— The general war-cry of the native Irish was " Farrah ! Farrah !" an exclamation of encouragement. The gathering cries of the different chiefs were taken either from their cognizance, as in the case of the O'Briens whose crest is a naked arm holding a sword, or from some accidental circumstance, as in the instance of the Geraldines. The other most remarkable warisons were of the O'Neals, " Lamh-dearg-aboe," (the cause of the red or bloody hand,) from their cognizance ; of the Fitz-Patricks, " Gear-ladir-aboe," (the cause of the strong and sharp,) from the same circumstance ; and of the De Burghos, " Gal-Riagh-aboe," (the cause of the Red Englishman), in honour of the second Earl of Ulster, who was commonly called the " Red Earl," and looked upon as the founder of the prosperity of the De Burghos. The Irish and baronial cavalry were mounted on small but active horses, called hobbies. They formed part of the forces with which Edward invaded France, and were found very useful as light troops. The Irish hobellers are frequently mentioned in the early English chronicles, and praised highly for their daring and activity. They wore scarcely any defensive armour, and used short spears and sabres, or battle-axes. They could not, of course,

stand for a moment against the charge of the mail-clad Norman chivalry ; but they could act efficiently in a difficult country, where the others would be wholly useless, encumbered by the weight of their armour, and unable to manage their heavy steeds. There were two kinds of infantry ; the Galloglasses, (a corruption of "Gall oglach," English servant), a heavy armed infantry ; they wore an iron headpiece, a coat of defence studded with nails, and bore a sword and broad axe. The light troops were named Kernes ; they used no defensive armour, but the headpiece, and their weapons were a retractile javelin, and a long knife called a *skene*. In the wars of Edward III. and Henry V. several troops of kernes were employed in the invasion of France. They performed the useful, but not very honourable service, of cutting the throats of those knights and men-at-arms, who were overthrown in the combat ; and the Irish skene was more dreaded by the French knights, than the lances of the English. The arbitrary exactions by which these irregular armies were supported have been already mentioned. It is only necessary to add, that robbery was considered honourable by these soldiers, since plunder enabled them to avoid becoming burdens to their chieftain and their friends.

The war maintained by Desmond against the Butlers, was desultory and of varied fortunes ; but the Lancastrian fugitives from England were found of little service to their Irish allies. They could not bear the fatigues of marches through bogs and mountains ; they eagerly desired to try their fortune in the open field, and prevailed on their leader to accept the challenge of Desmond. The battle was fought near Wexford ; and the overwhelming num-

bers of the Geraldines afforded them an easy victory. Kilkenny, and the other towns belonging to Ormond, were soon after seized and plundered ; the Butlers were driven from their ancient possessions, and forced to seek safety in their mountain-forts and fastnesses. As a reward for this service, Desmond was created Lord-deputy—an office for which he was every way unfitted. In his first expedition against the Irish septs, who had seized on the settlements in Meath, he was taken prisoner, but was soon liberated by O'Connor of Offaly, who had been always a zealous partisan of the Geraldines. Equally inglorious was the termination of the war with the O'Briens of Thomond. On the advance of this sept, and some others, beyond the marches, Desmond could find no better method of securing the Pale, than purchasing the forbearance of the invaders by a promise of regular tribute. An unsuccessful attempt to remove the Lord-deputy being defeated by the partiality of the King, he was encouraged to pursue his career of headlong extravagance ; but, though permitted to plunder and spoil the people at his will, Desmond was destined to find, that royal failings could not be mocked with impunity. On the marriage of the King with Elizabeth Grey, Desmond incalculably ridiculed the meanness of the lady's origin. His watchful enemies transmitted the news to England, and the Queen immediately resolved on his destruction. Tiptoft Earl of Worcester was soon sent over to Ireland as Lord-deputy ; and he was secretly instructed to examine his predecessor's conduct with the greatest strictness, and to punish him with the utmost rigour if any charge could be established. A new Parliament was summoned, which, with the usual servility of Irish Par-

liaments, was ready to sanction any measure that their rulers would propose. Several acts were passed, indirectly condemning the conduct of the late governor, and, amongst others, one against paying tribute to the Irish, which every one of its supporters was notoriously violating at the moment. Another act of this Parliament is too important to be omitted. It declared, that the Kings of England held the lordship of Ireland by a direct grant from the Holy See ; and therefore directed, that all archbishops and bishops of Ireland, on a monition of forty days, should excommunicate all disobedient subjects *as heretics.*

The Parliament was then adjourned to Drogheda ; and, deeming it unnecessary to dissemble any longer, they hurried through both Houses an act " for attainting of treason the Earls of Kildare and Desmond, with Edward Plunket, Esq., for alliance, fostering, and alterage with the King's Irish enemies," &c. Kildare was arrested, but luckily made his escape to England. Desmond, confiding in his innocence or his power, came boldly to the chief governor to justify his conduct. He was immediately seized, and, without the formality of a trial, hurried to instant execution.

This monstrous act of tyranny and injustice did not remain long unpunished. Kildare so effectually justified himself to Edward, that he was not only restored to his title and estates, but appointed Lord-deputy ; and Tiptoft was recalled into England, where, in a new revolution, he suffered the same fate which he had inflicted on Desmond.

The administration of Kildare was distinguished by the institution of a military order for the defence of the Pale, called the Fraternity of St George. It

consisted of thirteen great proprietors, one hundred and twenty mounted archers, forty knights, and as many esquires. To show their attachment to England, they assembled annually on St George's day in Dublin, and elected a captain. It is evident that a force, consisting of thirteen officers and two hundred soldiers, would have been unable to resist any general effort of the native Irish ; and, consequently, it appears that all idea of a national resistance was abandoned, and that the settlers had only to dread predatory expeditions and tumultuous incursions.

The depression of the house of Ormond did not long continue. John, the eldest surviving brother of the late Earl, contrived to obtain the favour of his sovereign, and even his personal friendship. The partisans of the Butlers formed cabals against Kildare, and forwarded complaints to England, which the heir of Ormond supported with all his influence. The Earl was soon removed from the government, which was transferred to his personal enemy the Bishop of Meath. A parliament was assembled, which immediately repealed the acts of attainder against the Butlers, and restored the heir of Ormond to his titles and estates.

The Butlers and Geraldines soon renewed their former feuds. The war-cries of Crom-aboo and Butler-aboo, were raised in every quarter ; and there was reason to dread that the entire pale would be involved in the quarrel of these great rivals. Edward sent over a commission to the Archbishop of Armagh, to act as mediator between the parties ; but the discord was too fierce to be so easily allayed. Fortunately, superstition proved more efficacious than the royal mandate. Ormond suddenly resolved to undertake a pilgrimage to the Holy Se-

pulchre, and quitted the country. Kildare ended his life shortly after ; and when the chiefs were removed, their followers tacitly agreed on a truce.

The Geraldines seem about this time to have become the prevailing faction ; for we find Gerald, the young Earl of Kildare, appointed Lord-deputy, and retaining his power in defiance of the King, when Lord Grey was appointed his successor. After a vigorous contest, in which each party summoned a parliament, the Viceroy appointed by the King was forced to yield. Lord Gormanstown was appointed Lord-deputy, and he soon resigned in favour of the Earl of Kildare. The Earl strengthened himself by forming a matrimonial alliance with the chief of the O'Nials, to whose son he gave his daughter in marriage ; and the influence which he thus obtained with the native Irish, enabled him to preserve the country in peace during the remainder of Edward's life, and the short and troubled reign of Richard III.

CHAPTER VIII.

From the Accession of Henry VII. to the Reformation.

THE accession of Henry VII. was an event that threatened to destroy the power of the Yorkists in Ireland ; but, to the surprise of every body, Kildare was continued in the government, and his adherents permitted to retain the great offices of state. There was no person in Ireland to control the pride of the potent Earl. His great rival Ormond having been restored to the title of Earl of Wiltshire, resided in England, and became a member of the privy council. Desmond resided in his own principality ; and, if he paid any attention to the concerns of the Pale, it was to aid the Deputy in extending the influence of the Geraldines. The De Burghos had become virtually an Irish sept, and no longer regarded the colonists as brethren.

The bane of Henry's government in England, was his jealousy of the partisans of the house of York. He unwisely kept up the distinction of party, which would have soon sunk into oblivion ; and the cruelty with which he treated his Queen, for no other cause but her descent from the family of his former rivals, convinced the lovers of Edward's memory that the King was their deadly enemy. Rumours of plots and

conspiracies were spread abroad. It was said that Richard III. had not succeeded in murdering both his nephews; that Richard, Duke of York, had escaped, and would soon appear in Ireland among the devoted friends of his house. Alarmed by these reports, the King summoned Kildare to appear at court, and give an account of his administration; but the Earl was not to be caught so easily. He saw that this artifice was designed for his destruction, and took his measures accordingly. Summoning an assembly of the peers, he laid the royal mandate before them, which he professed the utmost anxiety to obey; but, at the same time, he secretly contrived that the barons should present a remonstrance, declaring his departure inconsistent with the safety of the realm. The Earl forwarded this instrument to England; and the King, unwilling to avow his suspicions, affected to be satisfied.

The imposture of Simnel soon proved that Henry had just grounds for caution. This young man was taught by a priest to personate the Earl of Warwick, then a prisoner in the Tower. The detection of such a fraud in England would have been easy. Warwick was still alive, and his person was known to most of the nobility, who had frequently met him at the court of Edward. It was therefore resolved to make the experiment in Ireland; and there was another reason for selecting that country. Warwick's father, the late Duke of Clarence, was born in Dublin, and the Irish, it was hoped, would readily support the son of their countryman. (A. D. 1487). The success of this attempt surprised the contrivers themselves. Kildare received the impostor as his lawful sovereign, surrounded him with all the pomp of royalty, and proclaimed him King in

Dublin, under the title of Edward VI. The enthusiasm with which the impostor's claims were acknowledged, seems like a national insanity. Throughout Ireland, none were found to impugn his title but the Butlers, the Berminghams, and the citizens of Waterford. He was solemnly crowned in the cathedral of Dublin, with a diadem taken from a statue of the Madonna; and, immediately after, his writs to summon a parliament met with general obedience. The arrival of some German auxiliaries from Flanders, commanded by Martin Swart, filled the partisans of Simnel with such confidence, that they determined to invade England. The Deputy's two brothers were appointed to lead the Irish forces; and, on their landing in England, they were joined by the Earl of Lincoln, Lord Lovel, Sir Thomas Broughton, and some other persons of distinction. The invaders directed their course to York, but were disappointed in their hope of raising the country. The English have ever shown a proper jealousy of foreigners; and the people generally dreaded the fortune that had hitherto attended all the opponents of Henry. Simnel's army, while hastening to attack Newark, were met by the royal forces at the village of Stoke, in the county of Nottingham. The engagement was long doubtful, though the army of Henry was far superior to that of his adversaries, both in quantity and quality. The Irish being mostly light armed, in vain made the most desperate efforts to break through the iron lines of their opponents;—they were driven back, charged in their turn, and thrown into remediless confusion. But, though routed, they disdained to fly; each resisted singly, and fell overwhelmed by numbers. Four thousand of the rebels, including the principal lead-

ers, fell in this bloody engagement. Simnel and his tutor were made prisoners. Henry, with affected magnanimity, spared the life of the impostor, and made him a scullion in the royal kitchen ; the priest, by whom he had been instructed, was treated more harshly, being sentenced to perpetual imprisonment.

Though Henry was naturally inclined to punish severely the Irish partisans of Simnel, the state of Ireland compelled him to restrain his indignation. The barons, who had supported the impostor, were the defenders of the English interest ; and if they were destroyed, the country must again revert to the native Irish. Henry, therefore, contented himself with rewarding his friends, deferring the punishment of his enemies to a more favourable opportunity. He sent a letter, written with his own hand, to the citizens of Waterford, thanking them for their fidelity ; and at the same time he graciously received the deputies from Dublin, and readily granted a general pardon. To secure the fidelity of his repentant subjects, he sent Sir Richard Edgecombe to Ireland with a train of five hundred men, to receive anew the oaths of allegiance, and take under the royal protection all who gave assurance of their loyalty. Edgecombe arrived in Kinsale, and received the submission of the neighbouring barons. He then proceeded coastwise to Dublin, and was welcomed by the magistrates with apparent submission. It was not so easy to prevail on Kildare to perform homage. He invented several pretexts for delay ; and, when all these failed, he appears to have intended a religious fraud, to save him from being bound by the oath of allegiance.

It is not universally known, that, in the Romish church, the intention of the officiating priest is held

necessary to the perfection of a sacrament. If, then, the Host, on which the Irish Lords should be sworn, was consecrated by a priest, on whom they could prevail to withhold his intention, transubstantiation would not take place ; the wafer would still be simply bread, and the whole an idle ceremony, which imposed no religious obligation. It was not without difficulty that Edgecombe, who suspected the fraud, prevailed on Kildare to permit the Host to be consecrated by his own private chaplain.

Soon after, Kildare and several of the Irish nobility came over to England, and did homage to the King in person. They were magnificently entertained by Henry at Greenwich ; but had the mortification to see their former idol Simnel waiting as butler at table.

Kildare, on his return, continued to exercise all his former authority, and preserved the pale in greater tranquillity than it had enjoyed for a long time. In the south, the Geraldines of Desmond extended their territories at the expense of their neighbours, the MacArthys and O'Carrolls, whom they severely defeated. In the north, O'Nial, the brother-in-law of the Deputy, declared war against the chieftain of Tyrconnell. The diplomatic correspondence between these petty princes, before the declaration of war, evinces a Spartan spirit worthy of a nobler contest. O'Nial wrote, “ *Send me tribute ; or else—.*” To which the other replied, “ *I owe you none ; and if—.*” The war that followed produced no incident of importance ; but it terminated to the disadvantage of the O'Nials.

Walter, Archbishop of Dublin, and the Earl of Ormond, had been long engaged in a series of intrigues, to remove Kildare from the government,

and finally succeeded. The Archbishop was appointed in his place, and the office of Lord-treasurer was bestowed on Sir James Ormond, a natural son of that Earl, who had died on his pilgrimage. Immediate measures were taken to depress the Geraldines, which, of course, readily met the sanction of a servile Parliament. The attainders against the Butlers and their adherents were reversed, and an act passed for the resumption of all grants made since the first year of King Henry VI.

While the Geraldines were smarting under these wrongs, an adventurer, claiming to be Richard Duke of York, son of Edward IV, arrived in Cork. This is not the place to examine the validity of Perkin Warbeck's claims. It is difficult to prove that he was the prince ; it is equally difficult to demonstrate that he was an impostor ; on the whole, the present writer inclines to believe that his pretensions were well-founded. Warbeck wrote from Cork to the Earls of Kildare and Desmond ; he was cheerfully recognised by the latter ; but before Kildare could decide on the part he should take, the adventurer was summoned to the French court, and immediately accepted the invitation. The King sent for Walter, the Lord-deputy, to inquire into the state of a country that seemed at every moment ripe for revolution ; and, after some deliberation, he resolved to confide the administration of Ireland to Sir Edward Poynings, a knight of distinguished ability. He was sent over to Ireland with an army of one thousand men. Several of the best English lawyers accompanied him, to fill the offices of judges ; for those who then occupied the bench were notorious for their incapacity, and owed their elevation to the favour of parties.

A. D. 1494.—The administration of Sir Edward Poynings forms a new era in the history of Ireland. For the first time, the government began to manifest the fixed intention of breaking down the enormous power of the barons, and restraining within proper limits a factious oligarchy, which frequently insulted the sovereign, and always oppressed the people. The first military enterprise of the Lord-deputy was against the northern sept of O'Hanlons, whose incursions had been very frequent and injurious. The difficulties of the country rendered the superior forces of the English useless ; and Poynings would have been forced to retire in disgrace, had not the rashness of the Geraldines furnished him with an honourable pretext for withdrawing. The brother of the Earl of Kildare seized on the castle of Carlow, and garrisoned it with his own retainers. Kildare was immediately arrested on suspicion ; and the Deputy, advancing to Carlow, soon forced the castle to surrender.

A parliament was now summoned, in which several very useful and important laws were enacted ; but one, well known to Irishmen by the name of Poynings' Law, more particularly demands our attention. This statute enacted, that no parliament should be held in Ireland, until the Lord Lieutenant and Privy Council had first certified to the King in council in England, the causes and considerations of its being assembled, and all such acts as seemed to them necessary to pass ; and that these had been approved by the sovereign, and his license for the affirmation of these acts, as well as for the holding of parliament, had been obtained. This act was afterwards confirmed and extended in the reign of Mary, where it will be more convenient to discuss its policy and effects. It is sufficient to say here, that its immediate

consequences were highly beneficial, since it armed the government with additional power to restrain the excesses of the oligarchy.

Warbeck now made a second descent on Ireland, and was openly assisted by the Earl of Desmond ; but being defeated before Waterford, the unhappy adventurer fled to the King of Scotland. The Butlers thought this an excellent opportunity to crush their great rival the Earl of Kildare. They importuned the Deputy to imitate the example of Tiptoft, and consign him to the executioner. But Poynings was too wise and too good to listen to these treacherous suggestions. He refused their solicitations, and sent the Earl to England, to answer for his conduct in presence of his sovereign.

The emissaries of the Butlers were not idle in the court of Henry. They besieged the King with all manner of calumnies and accusations against the accused ; but they were not a little confounded, when Henry directed that the Earl should be brought to confront his accusers. Great was the King's astonishment to behold, instead of a crafty conspirator, a frank, blunt soldier, of manners so simple, that they bordered on rudeness, and of a demeanour so easy and confident, that it could only be supported by conscious innocence. Henry advised the Earl to provide himself with able counsel. "Yea," replied Kildare, grasping the King by the hand, "I choose the ablest in the realm ; I take your Highness to be my counsel against these false knaves." Gratified by this rude compliment to his equity and discernment, Henry looked with favour on the accused, and coldly listened to the long catalogue of suspicions and surmises which his adversaries brought forward. The charge of treason was decisively re-

fated, the greater part of the others were found to be frivolous and vexatious ; at length the accusers alleged that he had sacrilegiously burned the church of Cashel. "Spare your evidence," exclaimed Kildare, "I did burn the church, for I thought the Bishop had been in it." This extraordinary justification produced a shout of laughter, which threw ridicule over the whole proceeding. Driven almost to despair, the accusers exclaimed, "All Ireland cannot govern this Earl." "Well, then," replied Henry, "he shall govern all Ireland"—and forthwith he appointed him Lord-deputy.

Kildare repaid the confidence of his sovereign by the zeal, energy and fidelity, which he displayed in his administration. The boundaries of the Pale, which had been gradually narrowing during the preceding half century, were now enlarged ; and several septs, whose forbearance had been purchased by tribute, were forced to submission. He endeavoured to effect a reconciliation with his rival of Ormond ; but, unfortunately, the train that accompanied the chief of the Butlers to Dublin on the occasion, became involved in a quarrel with the citizens, and though the Deputy successfully interfered to protect his rival, yet Ormond could not conceal his angry suspicions. After a long but not satisfactory interview, the Earls parted with mutual professions of attachment, but with more than their former animosity, not the less violent because it was concealed.

The Deputy soon after engaged in a war of very questionable policy. He had given his daughter in marriage to Ulick de Burgho of Clanricarde, the head of a powerful sept of degenerate English in Connaught ; and having heard that she was badly treated by her husband, he determined to use the

royal army as an instrument of vengeance. Clanricarde, nothing daunted by the power of his enemies, boldly prepared for resistance, and obtained the aid of the O'Briens, and other septs of Munster. Kildare was joined by the nobles of the Pale, the numerous retainers of all the Geraldines, and the northern O'Nials. The armies met at Knocktow, near Galway, and the Deputy obtained a decisive victory. The triumph was stained by the cruelty of the conquerors, who sternly refused to grant quarter, and continued the massacre until forced to desist by fatigue and darkness. The hostility of the most ancient settlers to the aboriginal inhabitants of the country, seems not to have abated with the lapse of time. After the battle of Knocktow, Lord Gormanstown, in all the insolence of success, said to Kildare, "We have slaughtered our enemies ; but, to complete the good deed, we should cut the throats of the Irish by whom we have been assisted." This feeling, however, was not general. Several of the English families, but especially the Geraldines and De Burghos, were closely connected with different Irish Princes by numerous intermarriages ; and we find the native annalists of this period recording the exploits of some nobles of the Pale, with the same enthusiasm as the deeds of their own toparchs. The victory of Knocktow reduced Connaught to obedience ; and the O'Nials and O'Briens were almost the only septs which continued to withhold their allegiance.

The accession of Henry VIII. produced no immediate change in the government of Ireland. Kildare, whose services had been rewarded by the Order of the Garter, was continued as Deputy, and daily extended the English influence (A. D. 1513). So

great was the confidence reposed in this gallant nobleman, that, on his death, the army suddenly dispersed, and there was every reason to dread a new series of tumults. This was fortunately prevented by the privy council. They met in a hurry, and unanimously elected Gerald, the young Earl of Kildare, Deputy, until the royal pleasure could be known ; and this nomination was confirmed in England. Gerald inherited the valour of his illustrious family, but, unfortunately, a more than ordinary share of their characteristic pride and imprudence. He was soon called on to display his military skill, by a dangerous insurrection of the Irish, whom some fabricated prophecies had stimulated to revolt. False prophecies have been often used by the lovers of sedition in Ireland, as the most powerful stimulants of its enthusiastic population. It is not long since the whole island was thrown into confusion, by a misprint in a ridiculous commentary on the Revelations. Pastorini's Prophecies, as this precious work was named, contained a calculation, by which it appeared that the year 1835 would be the era of the restoration of the Catholic religion. It was unfortunately printed 1825 ; and the alarm which consequently prevailed through the entire of that devoted year, will not easily be forgotten. The question of Emancipation was then in debate. Pastorini's Prophecies, whimsically enough, furnished both parties with an argument, the more valuable because it was perfectly novel. One side used it as a threat, the other as a warning, until the delusion became so extravagant as to cure itself, and perished in a storm of ridicule.

If a prophecy, even in the nineteenth century, could produce such commotions, we must not be

surprised at its powerful effects in the beginning of the sixteenth. The Irish were every where in arms; but the promptitude and celerity of Kildare baffled all their efforts. They were vanquished in detail, and forced to remain quiet, until the calculations of some more accurate seer should discover another period more fortunate for the cause of insurrection.

But though Kildare was able to subdue his enemies in the field, he could not contend with his secret foes in the intrigues of the cabinet. Too haughty to court the favour of Wolsey by meanness and subserviency, he incurred the displeasure of that proud prelate; while his rival, the Earl of Ormond, submitted to every degrading compliance, in order to conciliate the powerful cardinal. In consequence of these machinations, Kildare was removed, and the Earl of Surrey appointed in his stead.

The Earl of Kildare was summoned to England, to give an account of his conduct. Soon after his arrival, he obtained the daughter of the Marquis of Dorset in marriage, and, by the aid of this influential nobleman, was enabled to baffle the malice of the Cardinal. Conscious, however, that his absence would give his enemies a great advantage, he resolved to remain at court. He attended Henry to Calais at the time of his celebrated interview with Francis, and contributed largely to the splendour of the "Field of the Cloth of Gold," by the brilliancy of his suite and equipage. Surrey displayed great vigour and ability in Ireland. He chastised the revolt of several septs, and received the submissions of some powerful toparchs; but, unfortunately, he was a stranger in the country, and was led into many errors by the interested deception of his advisers. The

successor of Surrey was Pierce Earl of Ormond, commonly called Pierce the Red. His administration was principally directed to extend the power and influence of the Butlers, and he was not very scrupulous in the use of any means by which this object might be effected. One Irish chieftain, Mac-Gillapatrick prince of Ossory, having been plundered by Ormond, sent an ambassador to lay his complaints before the King. The execution of this commission was intrusted to the chieftain's bard or sennachy ; who, impressed with a lofty sense of his lord's dignity, stopped Henry on his road to church, and denounced war against him in the name of the high and mighty Mac-Gillapatrick, if he refused to chastise the tyranny of Pierce the Red. No notice seems to have been taken of this extraordinary threat. Ormond was allowed to continue his excesses with impunity, and the hostility of Mac-Gillapatrick was checked by the most powerful of all reasons, a total want of means. The return of Kildare proved a much more formidable event to the Deputy. The Geraldines, relying on his connections in the English court, renewed their struggle with the Butlers ; and the contest soon became so important, that commissioners were sent from England to investigate the wrongs of which both complained. After a brief inquiry, they decided in favour of Kildare. Their report was then sent to the sovereign, who immediately removed Pierce the Red from his office, and, fatally for himself, appointed Kildare Lord-deputy.

Desmond, the head of the southern Geraldines, had long acted as an independent prince. He claimed the privilege of absenting himself from parliament, and of being never obliged to come within the walls of a fortified town. Living thus entirely among his

vassals and dependents, he naturally over-estimated his power and importance, and was easily led to believe himself a match for his sovereign. Francis, King of France, finding that Henry had joined the Emperor against him, determined to raise some commotion in Ireland, and for this purpose sent an embassy to Desmond. The vain baron, proud of being treated as a sovereign prince, readily entered into an alliance offensive and defensive with the French King; but ere the treaty could produce any effect, Francis was made a prisoner in the fatal battle of Pavia, and Desmond left exposed to the vengeance of an outraged and vindictive sovereign. Orders were sent to Kildare, commanding him in the strongest terms to punish the presumption of his kinsman; but the Deputy ventured to elude the performance, and marched into Ulster, on the pretence of some disorders in that province, but really to support his brother-in-law O'Nial. The enemies of Kildare represented this suspicious conduct at court, and the Deputy was ordered to appear before the King and answer to these charges. After a short interval, during which Ireland remained in a state of shocking distraction, the Earl recovered the confidence of the King, and was once more restored to the government.

This victory over his rivals would have dangerously elated a man of stronger mind and cooler passions than Kildare possessed; and his actions soon showed that his little remnant of prudence was destroyed by his recent elevation. It is said also, that his intellects were partially injured about this time, in consequence of a wound in his head; but it is not necessary to have recourse to such an explanation for the extravagant effects produced by repeat-

ed triumphs on a character naturally weak and haughty. The officers of the Irish government became reasonably alarmed. They met in secret conclave, and prepared a representation of the evils by which Ireland was affected, which was soon laid before the King.

Though Kildare was not named in this petition, the evils mentioned were such as could not have occurred without his sanction or connivance. The jealous temper of Henry was fired by the recital, and he sent Kildare a peremptory mandate to come at once to London. Aware that his conduct would not bear a strict investigation, the Earl, by means of his wife's relations, endeavoured to obtain delay; but, finding that the King's resolution was not to be shaken, he supplied his castles with arms and ammunition from the royal stores, and intrusted the government to his son Thomas, a youth scarcely twenty years old.

A. D. 1534.—Kildare, on his arrival in London, was sent to the Tower; and this mark of disfavour was reported in Ireland with the usual exaggeration. Skeffington, who had been formerly Lord-deputy, and the faction of the Butlers, reported that he had been sentenced to death, and soon after pretended to have received an account of his execution. The young Lord Thomas lent a credulous ear to these inventions of his enemies. Determined on revenge, he consulted with his Irish adherents; and having received promises of support, determined to raise the standard of rebellion. The chivalrous manner in which this young nobleman proceeded to execute his insane designs, fills us at once with surprise and pity. Attended by a body of one hundred and forty armed followers, he entered the city

of Dublin, and immediately proceeded to Saint Mary's Abbey, where the council was assembled in deliberation. The sudden and tumultuous entrance of armed men, filled all with consternation; but their fears were calmed by Lord Thomas, who, repressing the violence of his attendants, declared, that he came to resign the sword of state, to renounce his allegiance to the tyrant Henry, and to proclaim himself the mortal foe of the English government and its adherents.

While the other Lords remained astonished and silent, Cromer, who was both Chancellor and Primate, rose, and, taking the young Lord by the hand, remonstrated with him in terms the most affectionate and winning. Unfortunately, an Irish rhymer, at the end of his address, burst forth into a wild rhapsody on the glory of the Geraldines, and the high destiny for which the present heir of the house was designed; and Thomas, kindling with enthusiasm, made no reply to the Chancellor, but rushed out of the house.

The war thus madly begun, was supported with the same disregard to the simplest dictates of prudence; and it is but fair to add, with the same generous attention to the laws of humanity. With the exception of Archbishop Alan, whom the Irish murdered, not wholly without his concurrence, Lord Thomas sanctioned no act of cruelty, but laboured strenuously to restrain the excesses of his followers. His career, however, was brief. Without adequate forces or engines, he laid siege to Dublin, and wasted his time and forces in vain assaults on the city. Succours soon arrived from England; and, though one division was severely defeated, and almost annihilated, two others, commanded by Sir William

Brierton, and the new Deputy, Sir William Skeffington, made good their entrance into the city, and soon forced Lord Thomas to raise the siege.

The Deputy, infirm in body, and vacillating in mind, made no efforts to follow up this success. Lord Thomas not only escaped, but, by entering into a treaty with the O'Connors and O'Nials, soon became formidable. Roused by the strong representations of the military officers, Skeffington at length took the field, and laid siege to Maynooth, one of the strongest Geraldine fortresses. The spirit of the garrison, and the strength of the place, baffled the besiegers for fourteen days. They were about to raise the siege, when the unexpected treachery of Lord Thomas's foster-brother laid it at their mercy. Skeffington paid this double traitor the stipulated reward, and then ordered him to be instantly executed—an act of substantial justice, which may well redeem many of the Deputy's misdemeanours. The greater part of the irregular army assembled by the young Geraldine dispersed, when the capture of Maynooth became known, and as the heir of the great Desmond had been gained by Henry, he was driven to maintain a desultory warfare in the woods and mountains. Even thus, he made such a formidable resistance, that he obtained from the English General, Lord Grey, the most solemn assurances of safety and protection on condition of dismissing his troops.

The indolent Skeffington died about the time that this war was concluded, and was succeeded by Lord Grey. The first act of the new governor, was one of atrocious perfidy. In spite of his former promise, he sent the unfortunate Lord Thomas a prisoner to London, where he had the mortification to

find, that his father had not fallen by the hand of the executioner, but had died of grief, when he heard of his insane rebellion. This crime was followed by a greater. The five uncles of Lord Thomas, three of whom had notoriously opposed the insurrection, were invited to a banquet by the Deputy, and, in the midst of the entertainment, seized, hurried on shipboard, and sent to England as victims to the indiscriminate vengeance of Henry. Even these were not enough to glut the royal appetite for blood. A child of twelve years old, whom his aunt had conveyed to Munster, was sought for so eagerly, that he was forced to be sent to the Continent for safety. Even there, he was followed by the enmity of the tyrant. Henry had the inconceivable meanness to demand him from the King of France as a rebellious subject; but the French monarch connived at his escape to Flanders. A similar demand was made to the Emperor; but, before an answer was obtained, the youth had been taken under the protection of Cardinal Pole, by whom he was treated as a son.

CHAPTER IX.

The Effects of the Reformation in Ireland.

THE great moral convulsion, which changed the ecclesiastical establishment throughout the north of Europe, produced a new era in Irish history. Hitherto, the papal and priestly influence had been employed in the support of the English government, because the interests of both were in a great degree, identified ; but from henceforth, we must look upon the Romish church as the great engine of opposition to the royal power, and find it earnestly supported by a people which it had long injured and insulted. The long baronial wars, and the desultory struggles of the natives, had effaced the memory, both of the learning and piety of Ireland's national church ; the new discipline introduced by Henry II. had triumphed over all resistance ; and the church had become a third power, placed between the king and people, able to command and control both. The barons and toparchs looked upon the influence of the clergy with no little jealousy. Of doctrines and dogmas they knew little ; but they knew that there had been a time when these prelates, now their rivals and peers, depended on the chieftains for protection and support. They were, therefore, not averse from any

change by which the paramount authority of the church might be diminished. Henry, in consequence, found as little trouble in introducing the first principles of the Reformation into Ireland as he had experienced in England (A. D. 1536.) The parliament summoned by Lord Leonard Grey commenced, by enacting a declaratory statute, which excluded from the privilege of voting the proctors that had been previously returned from the several dioceses ; and, having thus secured a majority of the laity, proceeded with all speed to the regulation of the state. The King's supremacy was formally established ; his marriage with Catharine of Arragon declared null and void ; and the succession of the crown pronounced to be in the heirs of the King and the Lady Anne. The last act had scarcely passed, when news of Anne Boleyn's disgrace reached the assembly. With equal readiness they changed the inheritance to the descendants of Queen Jane ; and, in default of such heirs, acknowledged the King's right to dispose of the kingdom of England, and the lordship of Ireland, by letters-patent or by will.

Several acts of a similar tendency were passed with little opposition ; but Lord Grey was too politic to rely on statutes alone ; he collected a numerous army, and, marching through Leinster, received not only the submission of the septs, but hostages for the fidelity of the chieftains. Unfortunately, he at the same time showed that the government was about to adopt a new line of policy in other matters, fully as beneficial as the religious reformation, but one for which the country was not prepared, and which, consequently, added to its distractions. Henry had firmly resolved to break down the extravagant power of the barons and toparchs, and check the in-

sulence of an oligarchy, whose authority more than rivalled his own. With his usual impetuosity, he overlooked all the difficulties which impeded the execution of such a plan ; he pushed on the civil and religious reformation together ; and thus united in determined opposition the advocates of the abuses in both. The Butlers, triumphant over the Geraldines of Kildare, were the most violent antagonists of the Deputy. Secretly encouraged by Cromer, Archbishop of Armagh, the most zealous adherent of Rome, they openly resisted the Deputy, and even assailed him by force of arms. They were, however, too wise to undertake open rebellion ; and, while engaged in resisting the local government, sent over the most fulsome professions of allegiance to the court of England.

A. D. 1539.—O'Nial did not use even this thin disguise. He proclaimed himself chieftain of the Northern Irish ; and having, by the aid of the clergy, assembled a numerous army, he advanced to Tara, the seat of ancient monarchy, and there indulged his pride in an ostentatious review of his numerous forces. But this champion of Rome was incapable of any great enterprise. He contented himself with wasting the country ; and, having collected a great booty, prepared to return home. The Deputy had expected this storm ; but it burst forth before his preparations were completed. He summoned Sir William Brereton to his aid from Cheshire ; and, being joined by volunteers from Dublin and Drogheda, he pursued the Irish army, and overtook them at a place called Bellahoe, on the borders of the county of Meath. The van of the Irish army was the only part engaged ; the rest looked tamely on, until their associates were totally routed, and then fled without a blow. About four hundred were killed in the

battle and the flight. The superior celerity of the fugitives, and their knowledge of the difficult country, saved them from a vigorous pursuit.

With this victory ended the administration of Lord Grey. He was recalled to England, and sent to the Tower, on charges equally futile and malicious; but, knowing the irritable temper of Henry, he dared not prepare a defence, but pleaded guilty, and threw himself on the royal mercy. But justice and mercy were in vain opposed to a tyrant's caprice. Grey was ordered to execution, and perished by the same fate which he had treacherously prepared for the unfortunate Geraldines.

Some trifling insurrections, after the departure of Lord Grey, were so effectually quelled by Brereton, that the partisans of Rome were completely discouraged; and the new Lord-deputy, on his arrival, found all parties prepared to submit to the royal will. Taking advantage of these favourable circumstances, he summoned a Parliament, and proposed to them a change in the government of Ireland, which, though apparently nominal, was really of great importance. The English monarchs had hitherto only borne the title of Lords of Ireland. The style and title of King was now conferred on Henry and his heirs; by which act, the authority of the Pope to bestow the kingdom was virtually disclaimed. Peerages and promotions were at the same time liberally bestowed on the most powerful descendants of the original settlers and the native chieftains; further honours were promised to those who showed zeal in the King's service; and such a spirit of loyalty was created, that, when the son of Fitzpatrick, Baron of Upper Ossory, committed some outrages, he was delivered up to justice

by his own father. The most formidable enemies of the English power were invited to Parliament as Peers. De Burgho was created Earl of Clanricarde, O'Brien became Earl of Thomond, and O'Nial resigned the title of his sept for that of Earl of Tyrone or Tyrone. Unfortunately, in the case of the last chieftain, the government countenanced some of the anomalies of the Brehon code; for the inheritance to his title and estates was taken from his legitimate offspring, and conferred by patent on his natural son Matthew, created Lord Dungannon.

The good effects of Henry's wise policy were shown, by the restoration of public tranquillity, and the submission of all to his claim of supremacy. The groundwork of the Reformation was laid; and nothing was wanting to its complete success, but a continuance of the wisdom and justice, the mingled moderation and firmness, which marked the Irish administration during the remainder of Henry's reign.

The reign of Edward VI. was the crisis of the Reformation in Ireland. The guardians of the young King, intent on their own schemes of petty ambition, neglected the important interests of the nation; and the fabric, which Henry had erected with so much labour, soon fell to ruin. The first recorded incident of importance in the new reign, is a monstrous instance of impolicy and injustice. The O'Moores of Leix, and the O'Connors of Offaly, excited some disturbances in Leinster. An army, commanded by Bellingham, was sent to restrain their excesses, and soon drove them to seek refuge in their fastnesses.

A. D. 1548. Representations were made to these

chieftains of the favour that Henry had shown to O'Nial and others in similar circumstances, by which they were easily induced to submit, and to undertake a journey into England. Scarcely, however, had they arrived at court, when they were treacherously seized and thrown into prison, while their estates were seized by the rapacious adventurers who had advised this base act of perfidy. The high spirit of O'Moore sunk under the indignity of confinement. He died, bequeathing to his family the memory of his wrongs, and a heavy debt of vengeance, which they failed not subsequently to exact. O'Carroll was less fortunate, and long lingered in hopeless captivity and exile.

The effect of this detestable transaction on the mind of the Irish princes and the colonial barons, may be easily conceived. Their nascent confidence in the government was destroyed; and Bellingham, who had been appointed Deputy for his treachery, found it impossible to restrain the agitation which everywhere prevailed. At this unfavourable moment, the Protector, Somerset, determined to introduce the reformed liturgy into Ireland, and sent over Saint Leger again as Deputy for the purpose.

The Reformation in England was supported by the majority of the people, and a great body of the clergy, weary of the Papal yoke. Even before the preaching of Luther, the English church had obtained a qualified independence, and the nomination to its dignities was virtually vested in the crown. The sovereign, in asserting his supremacy, only consummated what had been commenced by the constitutions of Clarendon, and completed an influence which had been already exercised. The condition

of the Irish church was far different. The English owed their possession of Ireland to a bargain made with the Pope and the prelates. The Romish church was the guarantee of their security ; and they gladly assisted in strengthening the power which seemed alone able to ensure their safety. The Romish church in Ireland had consequently been long an estate of the realm paramount to all the rest, compared with which the power of the crown and the oligarchy was as nothing. As for the people, they did not possess as yet a voice in the state. Had the judicious measures of Henry been steadily pursued—had the barons and toparchs been conciliated by kindness—had the people been won by gentle remonstrance, the Papacy would soon have lost its Irish followers ; but measures far different were pursued, and we all know the consequence. The reformed clergy were strangely and culpably negligent. We are told by an Irish chancellor of the time, that they did not preach more than once a year ; and that this annual sermon was the only instruction they vouchsafed to afford their flocks. In default of more efficacious means, they placed their reliance on acts of parliament and bands of soldiers, substituting the law and the sword for the gospel and the cross. Saint Leger would willingly have used expedients less violent, but more efficacious. He was, however, stripped of his office, on the representations of the reformed Archbishop of Dublin, and the administration given to Sir James Crofts, who was supposed not to be troubled with unnecessary scruples.

The means of conversion which the Protector designed to use in Ireland were soon exemplified. A party, issuing from the garrison of Athlone, attacked the ancient church of Clonmacnoise, destroyed

its ornaments, and defiled its altars. Similar excesses were committed in other parts of the country; and the first impression produced by the advocates of the reformed religion was, that the new system sanctioned sacrilege and robbery.

Dowdal, who had been appointed to the Arch-bishopric of Armagh by Henry, on the death of Cromer, in opposition to the Papal nominee, unexpectedly became the most violent impugner of the royal supremacy. But Dowdal was a coward; and when the parliament, to punish his obstinacy, transferred the primacy from Armagh to Dublin, he abandoned the contest and his diocese together. O'Nial, the Earl of Tyrone, was a much more formidable enemy. The fate of the O'Moore and the O'Carroll excited his fears. The plundering of Clonmacnoise alarmed his prejudices; and the eldest of his legitimate children, Shane or John O'Nial, successfully laboured to prejudice him against Matthew, on whom the late King had settled the inheritance. While Tyrone yet wavered, Matthew, seeing the danger by which he was threatened, made the most alarming representations to Crofts, the Lord-deputy; and the governor, with the short-sighted policy which characterized his administration, contrived, by treachery, to secure the persons of Tyrone and his Countess, whom he instantly placed in close confinement. The inevitable consequence was, to place the clan entirely at the disposal of the turbulent Shane, who, assisted by a body of Scots, committed the most fearful depredations.

While affairs were thus in confusion, the death of Edward VI. produced a new revolution. The officers of state changed their religion with the same facility they had displayed on former occasions, and

the great body of the clergy followed their example. Unfortunately, some priests and prelates had evidenced the sincerity of their conversion by marrying. Wives were not so easily got rid of as creeds ; and they were unwillingly forced to preserve their consistency, and retire. Dowdal was restored to his see and the primacy, while the most violent of his opponents were compelled to fly.

The Queen commenced her reign by several acts equally just, humane and politic. She granted an amnesty to those who had proclaimed Lady Jane Grey in Dublin ; she restored the heir of Kildare to his title and estates ; and she liberated O'Connor of Offaly, who had been so long a prisoner.

The restoration of the old religion was effected without violence ; no persecution of the Protestants was attempted ; and several of the English, who fled from the furious zeal of Mary's inquisitors, found a safe retreat among the Catholics of Ireland. It is but justice to this maligned body to add, that on the three occasions of their obtaining the upper hand, they never injured a single person in life or limb for professing a religion different from their own. "They had suffered persecution and learned mercy," as they showed in the reign of Mary, in the wars from 1641 to 1648, and during the brief triumph of James II.

Even in Ireland, however, Mary fully proved her right to the title of *Bloody*. The septs of O'Moore and O'Carroll argued, with great justice, that they had no right to forfeit their lands for the errors of their chiefs. The ground was the property of the clan ; and the guilt of the leaders, though ever so clearly proved, could by no means involve their feudatories, against whom not the shadow of a charge

could be brought. The Irish government answered, by an argument sufficiently characteristic. They deigned no reply, verbal or written, but sent an army to drive the people of Leix and Ofally from their possessions, and to punish by martial law all who dared to make any resistance. Military violence and martial law are species of reasoning, to which the local governors of Ireland have, on more than one occasion, had recourse, to silence the clamours of suffering innocence, or to punish resistance to intolerable oppression. In this instance they were successful. The inhabitants of the devoted districts were purstied with fire and sword. In the words of an old historian, "the fires of burning huts were slaked by the blood of the inhabitants;" and it was with difficulty that a miserable remnant was saved by the generous interference of the Earls of Kildare and Ossory. To perpetuate the memory of the massacre, it was directed by the government, that Ofally and Leix should for the future be named the King's and Queen's County, and their chief towns Philipstown and Maryborough, in honour of King Philip and Queen Mary.

The turbulent Shane O'Nial, or O'Neill, as the name now began to be written, was as little inclined to submit to Mary as he had been to Edward. In contempt of the Deputy's remonstrance, he renewed the war against his brother Matthew, and procured his assassination. He then joined a son of the chieftain of Tyrconnell in an attempt to subdue Calvagh, the heir of that chieftaincy, who had deprived his father of power, and detained him in prison. This expedition nearly proved fatal to the adventurous youth. His camp was surprised by night, his followers routed, and he himself escaped with diffi-

culty by a rapid flight. John, though thus defeated, lost neither his courage nor his spirit. On the death of his father, he unhesitatingly took upon himself the command of the sept, and thus openly set the government at defiance.

A. D. 1558.—Elizabeth, on her accession, found Ireland in a state of the utmost distraction. Daniel O'Brien and the Earl of Thomond were engaged in a fierce war for the chieftaincy of North Munster. The Geraldines of Desmond, and the Butlers of Ormond, filled the entire south with confusion by their incessant hostilities. In Connaught, the De Burghos of Clanricarde were fiercely assailed by the rival branch descended from MacWilliam Oughter. In Leinster, the plundered refugees from Leix and Ofally sought revenge by marauding and laying waste the country in small bands; and in Ulster, John O'Neill was fast making himself master of the entire province. The Earl of Sussex, the Lord-deputy, on his departure for England, intrusted the government to Sir Henry Sydney, and directed him to march to Dundalk, and demand from O'Neill an explanation of his proceedings.

The enemies of O'Neill have described him in the most inconsistent colours. They assert that he was addicted to the most brutal excesses, particularly to beastly intoxication; that he was rude, ignorant, and barbarous; while, at the same time, they represent him as cautious, circumspect, and acute. A man, however, who was able to win the confidence of the gallant Sydney, and subsequently to obtain a more than ordinary share of Elizabeth's favour, could neither have been uncivilized nor brutal. They who plundered his estates by their rapacity, slandered him by their malice; but time, the redresser of

injuries, permits us now to do justice to the unfortunate with impunity.

Warned by the fate of O'Moore and O'Carroll, John was too wise to enter the English camp. When summoned, he replied, that he was engaged in celebrating the christening of his child ; and added a request, that Sydney would come and witness the ceremony, and become sponsor to the new-born babe. To the great annoyance of those underlings who infested the seat of government, and hoped to carve out fortunes for themselves by confiscation and plunder, Sydney accepted the invitation. He was entertained with great hospitality, and even magnificence. The ceremony was performed with more than ordinary solemnity, and Sydney then proceeded to enter on the real business of his visit. To his great astonishment, the account given by O'Neill of all former transactions, was totally different from the representations made at the castle. So far from being an obstinate rebel, he proved himself a man "more sinned against than sinning," one who had been driven to take up arms as the only means left for protecting his property and person. With great dignity and composure, he stated his right to the succession of Tyrone, which was equally clear by the English and the Irish law. According to the former, he was the heir, as being the eldest legitimate son ; and, in accordance with the latter, he had been unanimously chosen tanist by the sept. He denied the authority of any letters-patent to destroy a right of succession derived from a long line of illustrious ancestors ; and though he professed himself a liege subject of the Queen, he claimed his right to the sovereignty of Tyrone, both by descent and the free election of the clansmen. Sydney was

struck with the force and justice of these arguments. He consulted his counsellors, whom the candour and firmness of O'Neill had thrown into confusion. By their advice, he declared that the matters stated were too important for him to decide, but promised to lay them before the Queen. In the meantime, he advised the chieftain to preserve his allegiance, and to confide in the royal honour for such an arrangement as would be found right and equitable. O'Neill promised to observe this advice, and they parted in the utmost amity. This incident has been detailed at some length, on account of the important light it throws on the character and motives of this gallant but unfortunate chief, whose future career must occupy no inconsiderable portion of this history.

The Earl of Sussex soon returned from England, with special directions to restore the reformed worship. So far as the prelates and parliament were concerned, the Deputy found little opposition. Out of nineteen bishops, seventeen abjured Popery, as readily as in the former reign they had rejected Protestantism ; and the two recusants were speedily punished for their obstinacy, by being ejected from their sees. The peers, whose descendants in our days are for the most part Roman Catholics, did not at this time show any particular zeal for a religion in whose cause they subsequently suffered so severely ; and the commoners, though rather more obstinate, had little ambition to become martyrs. After some opposition, acts were passed for securing the royal supremacy, establishing the use of the reformed liturgy, vesting the appointment of bishops in the crown without the formality of a *conge d'elire*, and inflicting severe penalties on all who absented

themselves from the service of the church of England. Having thus accomplished the purpose for which it was convened, the parliament was dissolved.

There were two parties overlooked by the wise legislators in this transaction, who were not to be changed so rapidly and so easily as the peers and prelates. These were the inferior clergy and the Irish people. Notwithstanding the introduction of the Papal system by Henry II., much of the primitive simplicity and Christian kindness of their national church was preserved among the lower ranks of the Irish ecclesiastics. They lived on terms of familiar intercourse with their flocks, imbibed many of their prejudices, and shared in most of their sufferings. While the prelates looked to Rome or England as the source whence their wealth and power flowed, the native clergy, excluded by a jealous policy from the higher offices of the church, consoled themselves for the disappointment of ambition in the love of their congregations. They disliked the Reformation, because it was a system introduced by a people whose conduct had given too much reason for their being esteemed oppressors. They were disgusted at the marvellous celerity with which their superiors changed creeds and religions, as if they were matters in which it was only necessary to follow the example of the sovereign. Under these circumstances, they readily lent an ear to the emissaries of Rome, who encouraged them to maintain the "ancient religion;" and by this equivocal term they were led to become advocates of those papal usurpations, which their predecessors had strenuously resisted when introduced by the English. Whether this influential body could have been induced to

support the new system, if measures were taken to conciliate their affections, is uncertain. The experiment never was tried. They were not even asked to change their opinions, but were unceremoniously driven from their cures, and their places filled by strangers, the refuse of the English church.

The conversion of the people was seemingly not meditated by those who patronized the Reformation in Ireland. Compulsion was the only means of diffusing the reformed doctrine which they could understand; and their unsparing use of it soon made the name of Protestantism detested. The very first and most essential part of the Protestant discipline was neglected. The boast of the reformers justly was, that, the prayers being no longer read in an unknown tongue, all the congregation might share with heart and spirit in the worship of their heavenly father. But, though it was notorious that no language but Irish was intelligible beyond the walls of Dublin, no provision was made for a liturgy or preaching in the only language known to the great majority of the population. In the very act that established the reformed liturgy, its framers, with whimsical inconsistency, introduced a clause, permitting the service to be celebrated in Latin, where an English reader could not be procured. Of English and Latin the multitude being equally ignorant, preferred that which was sanctioned by old associations. With greater reason, they adhered to a clergy who understood their language, felt for their wants, and sympathized with their feelings, in preference to a host of foreigners, with whom they could maintain no conversation, and by whom they were regarded as an inferior order of beings. The attachment of the Irish to Popery, is not unfrequently brought as a serious

charge against them—when, in truth, they were driven to embrace that religious system by the pertinacious folly of their Protestant governors.

The clergymen imported into Ireland by the government, were for the most part needy adventurers, as bankrupt in reputation as they were in fortune. They were collected from the candidates that had been refused admission to the English church, and sent over, like a band of conscripts, to Ireland. A few made some exertions to discharge their duty; but the difference of language was a stumbling-block which they had not the industry to remove. The rest paid no regard to the matter; they collected their revenues in those districts where the authority of government was supported by the presence of an army; where that protection was wanting, they abandoned the field to the native clergy, and contented themselves with petitioning the government against the horrid abuse of allowing their tithes to be diverted to the support of Popery. One of the statutes for establishing the reformed religion in Ireland, enacted, that every rector, on induction, should take an oath to establish and maintain a school in his parish, for the education of the poor. So far, the statute was obeyed. The oath was regularly taken, and its obligation as regularly disregarded, down to the commencement of the present century.

The intentions of the Queen and her advisers in England, were doubtless wise and good; but, ignorant of all the circumstances of the country, and surrounded by those who thought it their interest to mislead her, she made use of means, not only inadequate, but ruinous to the cause they were designed to support. Thus it happened, that the Re-

formation, the primary and great cause of the happiness and the glory of England, produced in Ireland nothing but confusion and misery and degradation. There were many golden opportunities offered, when, by temperate and judicious measures, Protestantism might have been fixed in Ireland on a secure basis. They were all lost by the culpable negligence of some, or the more culpable profligacy of others. It is painful to dwell on the sins of omission and commission of the church of England, of which the writer is a devoted member; but it is worse than useless to disguise the truth. Its establishment in Ireland exhibits the most flagrant instances of both positive and negative delinquency, which, as our history will show, have produced the most pernicious and fatal consequences.

CHAPTER X.

The Wars against John O'Neill and the Earl of Desmond.

THE proceedings of John O'Neill continued to fill the inhabitants of the Pale with alarm ;—he had forced the O'Reillys to become his tributaries, and give hostages for their fidelity ;—he had revenged his late loss in Tyrconnel, by a new and successful invasion of that district ;—and he had erected a strong fort on one of his islands, whose name, *Foogh ne Gall* (the terror of the stranger), showed that he was determined to assert his independence. The representations of the colonists induced the Deputy to march with all his forces against this powerful chief ; and O'Neill, assembling his vassals, prepared for a desperate resistance. Neither party was willing to commence hostilities. O'Neill dreaded to encounter the entire power of England : Sussex, the Deputy, a blunt honest soldier, was disinclined, by an unnecessary war, to gratify the rapacity of those who longed to enrich themselves by confiscations. By the mediation of the Earl of Kildare, an accommodation was effected. O'Neill, as before, professed entire submission ; but stated that he was compelled to take arms, by the artifices of his enemies, who seduced his vassals to revolt, and had even attempt-

ed to destroy him by assassination. Of such detestable practices he offered the strongest proofs; and Sussex, satisfied with the apology, acknowledged his title as tanist, and gave him reason to hope, that the patent formerly granted to his brother Matthew would be revoked, and that he should himself be acknowledged heir to the earldom of Tyrone.

Encouraged by the Deputy, O'Neill resolved on proceeding to London, and laying his claims before the Queen in person. He even accompanied the Deputy to Dublin, though he well knew that the undevotions of the government there were bent on his destruction. Soon after his arrival, the Irish chief was informed, that a plot was formed for his arrest; and that nothing but a speedy departure for England could save him from imprisonment. The character of Sussex forbids us to believe that he had any concern in the meditated treachery. It is, however, doubtful, if it had succeeded, whether he could have resisted his colleagues at the council-board. O'Neill lost no time in making his escape. He set sail with a trusty band of followers, armed and dressed after the manner of their country, and soon arrived in London.

The actual appearance of a native chief, attended by his escort of wild Irishmen, created a sensation in the English capital that has rarely been equalled. O'Neill had judiciously selected the tallest and best looking of his Galloglasses;—their heads were bare, protected only by long and flowing tresses; they wore linen vests of a deep saffron-colour, with wide open sleeves, protected by a light and graceful coat of mail;—their arms were broad battle-axes and short swords, forming altogether a spectacle equally novel and interesting. The citizens of London, then as

now, ardent admirers of novelty, were enraptured ; they crowded round the chief, and loudly cheered him as he passed through the streets. Elizabeth herself was delighted at so romantic an incident ; she received O'Neill with more than ordinary favour ; listened to his allegations with complacency ; promised to do his claims full justice ; and added to these substantial benefits flattering courtesies of a more intoxicating nature.

The return of O'Neill, confirmed in all his honours, and the complete acknowledgment of his right to the title and estates of Tyrone immediately after, filled the Queen's Irish servants with dismay. The Irish chief, with more loyalty than prudence, proceeded to give the strongest proof of the sincerity of his allegiance, by attacking the Hebridean Scots, who had been hitherto his most zealous allies in the wars with the English. O'Neill completely conquered these marauders, and obtained the warmest thanks from the Queen as his reward ; but her gratitude was limited to words, and was more than counterbalanced by the jealousy and hatred with which the Lords of the Pale regarded this great leader. The services of O'Neill could not be misrepresented ; his conduct defied the strictest scrutiny ; but it was easy to attribute to him evil *designs* and dangerous *intentions*. The officers of the crown in Ireland were liberal in discovering motives for the most innocent actions of the great northern Earl. They sent over countless letters, detailing the dangers to be apprehended from the revolt which they asserted he meditated. His success over the Scots was, in their representations, a mere cloak for treason ;—his war against these invaders, a pretext for maintaining an army without suspicion. Worn out

by a succession of such messages, Elizabeth at length replied, that “ if he revolted, it would be the better for her servants, as there would be estates enough for them all.”

This memorable answer has often been quoted as an exemplification of the detestable policy subsequently practised in numerous instances ; namely, to provoke the Irish proprietors to revolt, in order that their estates might be forfeited, and shared among the rapacious retainers of government. Such, however, was not perhaps Elizabeth’s design. Though she was indisputably a heartless tyrant, and, on more occasions than one, openly and atrociously violated the first principles of justice, it would be too violent an inference to say, that her hasty reply to calm groundless fears, and check absurd terrors, was intended as a serious avowal of abominable treachery, adopted as a principle of government. But, whatever meaning the Queen affixed to this ill-omened phrase, her servants in Ireland interpreted it in the worst sense. Thenceforward, the hope of acquiring great northern estates became their ruling principle of action, and the commencement of a rebellion the object of their earnest prayers.

Sir Henry Sydney, the new Lord-deputy, was persuaded by the council to station a garrison at Derry, in the very heart of O’Neill’s country—a measure equally unnecessary and insulting. It was unnecessary ; for the country was perfectly tranquil ; and, at all events, the distance of Derry from the Pale made the garrison useless, in case of commotion. It was insulting, for it showed O’Neill that he was suspected by the government ; and it besides lowered his dignity with his followers, who thought, that, having been received into favour by the Queen,

he had a right to the command of any royal force stationed within his districts. Many modern writers, looking upon the relation between O'Neill and Elizabeth as precisely the same as that which existed between the Queen and any English nobleman, have taken the pains to show, that this garrison formed no just ground of complaint. But the Irish chief stood in no such relation. He was a petty prince, and not a feudal baron. The allegiance which he owed the crown, was the same as that which the German princes anciently gave to the Emperor, as may easily be proved, by referring to the numerous treaties made at different times between the O'Neills and the English government.

As had been foreseen, O'Neill resolved to remove the garrison of Derry at all hazards; but, with his usual policy, he contrived to make the English the aggressors. He led a body of forces before the walls of the garrison, which Randolph, the governor, immediately attacked, but was defeated and slain. O'Neill sent a strong remonstrance to the Deputy against this unwarrantable act of hostility, and proposed a conference at Dundalk, in order to explain his grievances. But, before any amicable arrangement could be made, news arrived that the magazine of Derry had been blown up by accident, and the garrison forced to evacuate the town. This event was magnified into a stupendous miracle by some idle fanatics. It was asserted, that the holy Kolumkill, indignant at the profanation of his favourite residence, had sent an enormous wolf, with a blazing brand in her mouth, which she dropped in the church desecrated by the heretics to an arsenal. This monstrous fiction could scarcely have imposed on O'Neill, but it was greedily received by his ignorant follow-

ers. Pretended miracles in favour of the Romish religion have been of frequent occurrence in Ireland, and are not quite laid aside at the present day. The writer of this history remembers to have heard of at least a hundred within the last twenty years, which, though to the full as absurd as that of the incendiary wolf, were firmly believed by the lower orders. Inspired either by belief in the miracle, or the confidence which the tale gave his adherents, O'Neill refused to meet the Deputy, and openly raised the standard of revolt. His first enterprise was an attack upon Ardmagh, which he took by assault, and burned down the cathedral, because it had been polluted by the reformed worship. He then devastated Fermanagh, and even ventured to attack Dundalk, but was repulsed with loss and disgrace. O'Neill soon found that the Deputy had anticipated the war, and that the emissaries quartered at Derry had been secretly undermining his power, from the first moment of their arrival in his country. O'Donnell of Tyrconnell, and M'Guire of Fermanagh, were persuaded to support the English government; and several inferior septs, which had hitherto acknowledged his power, now refused obedience. Still the gallant chief was undaunted. He sent emissaries to the Earl of Desmond and the chiefs of Connaught, inciting them to revolt; and even despatched agents to the courts of Rome and Spain, requesting them to assist him in restoring the Catholic church of Ireland. But all his efforts were vain; he was now fairly in the toils, and escape was impossible. Desmond, his chief hope, declared for the government, and from abroad there appeared no sign of relief. His faithful followers, surrounded by enemies on all sides, fell gallantly, but fell in vain; and at last the chief was

unwillingly forced to acknowledge, that further resistance was vain. He now resolved to surrender himself to the Deputy, and throw himself on the mercy of the government. But, just as he was about to depart, his secretary reminded him of the fate of O'Moore, and recommended him to seek, in preference, the protection of his old allies the Hebridean Scots. A large body of these adventurers was now encamped at Clan-hu-boy ; and though they had lately suffered severely from O'Neill's hostility, he trusted that they would aid him against the English, their common enemy.

Having sent an embassy to Clan-hu-boy, and obtained a favourable answer, O'Neill, with a few faithful followers, proceeded to the Scottish camp. But an emissary of government had preceded him. Piers, a British officer, a disgrace to his country and his profession, had undertaken the task of persuading the Scottish chief to murder his unsuspecting guest. The desire of revenge united with the thirst of gain in seducing Clan-hu-boy to consent. At an entertainment given by an Irish Lord, a pre-concerted quarrel was raised with some of O'Neill's followers. At a given signal, the banqueting-room was filled with soldiers, and all the Irish were slain. O'Neill's head was sent to Dublin, and Piers received a thousand marks from the government as a reward for the murder. The Deputy then marched through Tyrone without meeting any resistance, and nominated a feeble old man tanist of the sept, to prevent the clan from choosing a more efficient leader.

Thus terminated the first important civil war after the Reformation. It cannot, without a gross abuse of terms, be called a rebellion ; and the authors who

have chosen to describe it as a religious rebellion, are guilty of positive and wanton falsehood. The burning of the cathedral at Armagh, the only evidence of hostility to the newly established form of religion, was, in O'Neill's circumstances, an act of necessary policy. When his old feudatories and friends were bribed to desertion; when his allies in the West and South became either neutral or hostile; when he was left almost alone amidst his enemies, the only chance of escape remaining was to obtain aid from abroad. The orthodoxy of the chieftain was more than suspected. In fact, he was supposed to have become attached to the principles of the Reformation during his visit to England, and to have been deterred from a public acknowledgment of his conversion, by a well-grounded fear of losing the confidence of his followers, without in the slightest degree abating the rancorous and rapacious enmity of the Irish government. He burned the cathedral as an evidence of his sincerity in the cause of the old religion; but the Romish party still refused to trust him; and some of its most violent supporters united with the Deputy for his destruction. But, though the war against O'Neill had no connection with O'Neill, either in its cause or progress, its consequences were most injurious to the cause of the Reformation. The detestable policy by which their favourite leader was destroyed, inspired the Irish with a fierce hatred against every English institution, civil and religious. They judged of the new system by its effects; and these they found were treachery, robbery, and assassination.

The Lords of the Pale, and the other barons of Norman descent, witnessed the destruction of O'Neill

with indifference. They little thought that the governors looked with equal cupidity on the estates of the native Irish, and the extensive domains acquired by the descendants of the early settlers. But they were soon taught, that rapacious avarice is indiscriminate in its objects ; and that one successful act of treacherous policy soon leads to the commission of another. The vast estates of the Earl of Desmond were not likely to escape the notice of those whom a cotemporary justly calls “ the hungry vultures that haunted the Castle of Dublin.” His power, from the union of the privileges both of an English peer and an Irish chief, was viewed by the government with a jealous eye ; and the several Lords-deputy were offended by the style of haughty independence assumed on all occasions by the proud nobleman. His wars with the Butlers were frequent. On one occasion he was wounded, made prisoner, and borne by his enemies in a litter from the field. “ Where now is the great Earl of Desmond ? ” asked the insulting victors. “ Where, but in his proper place ? ” replied the gallant Lord, “ still upon the necks of the Butlers.” Ormond, his great rival, inferior to the Geraldine in wealth, power and valour, more than atoned for this deficiency by his political skill and superior talents as a courtier. He visited England, and soon insinuated himself into the confidence of the Queen. He returned to Dublin, justly believing that the royal favour would more than counterbalance the valour of his rival, or the justice of his claims. The dispute about the boundaries of their several estates, was referred to Sydney the Lord-deputy. After a careful investigation, he decided in favour of Desmond. Ormond appealed to the Queen,

and accused Sydney of partiality. Without the slightest inquiry, Elizabeth severely reprimanded the Chief Governor, and commanded him to examine the case again. Sydney, on the second trial, reversed his former decision, and not only commanded Desmond to restore the disputed lands, but also to reimburse Ormond for the losses he had sustained. Irritated at such flagrant injustice, Desmond flatly refused obedience ; whereupon he was seized by the Deputy, and sent a prisoner to Dublin. The Earl requested permission to lay his grievances before the Queen, which was granted. He proceeded to London with several Irish lords, who were graciously received ; but Desmond and his brother were, without the slightest investigation, sent to the Tower, where they were detained as prisoners for several years. It is not surprising that such monstrous tyranny should inspire both with an aversion to the English government, that ended only with their lives.

The murder of O'Neill, and the imprisonment of Desmond, became the signal for new commotions in Ireland. Sir Edmund Butler, brother to the Earl of Ormond, seized the opportunity of attacking the Geraldines, now deprived of their head, and distrusted by internal dissensions. The Earl of Clan-carty deemed the moment favourable for claiming the sovereignty of Munster, and took up arms for the purpose. Even Tirlough of Tyrone, who had been set up in O'Neill's place, was about to show the usual ambition of his family. In the midst of these disorders, Sydney summoned a parliament, and at the same time took very extraordinary precautions to secure a majority. Several members were returned for towns that had never been incorporated ; not

a few of the sheriffs and magistrates returned themselves; and a number of the dependents of the court were nominally elected for places of which they did not even know the name. The latter circumstance is not unparalleled in the modern history of the Irish legislature, if we may credit an anecdote that was publicly related in the Irish parliament. Shortly before the Union, a member for a Munster borough being in London, wished to hear a debate in the English House of Commons. He presented himself to the door-keeper, and asked to be shown to the place set apart for Irish members. The door-keeper asked his name, and the place which he represented. The former query was readily answered, but the latter could not meet a reply. "We are obliged to be particular," said the officer, "for Barrington the pickpocket got admittance here some nights since as an Irish member." "Really, I forget the name of my borough," said this worthy representative of an independent constituency; "but if you bring me the Irish Directory, I will show it to you immediately."

Notwithstanding all the care of Sydney, the opponents of government constituted a respectable minority, and the loudness of their clamours in some degree compensated for their numerical deficiency. Headed by Sir Edmund Butler and Sir Christopher Barnewal, a gentleman of great legal acquirements, the opposition arraigned the constitution of the parliament, and expressly denied its competency to pass any single act. The judges were consulted on this important topic, and of course decided in favour of the crown. They were, however, obliged to go to the House of Commons, and deliver their opinions in person, before Barnewal and his party could be

swed into submission. At length a bill was introduced, in the support of which all showed wonderful zeal and unanimity. This was an act for the forfeiture of O'Neill's estates, and vesting the property of Tyrone in the crown. The hope of sharing the spoil, for once reconciled the English by birth and the English by blood; and this wholesale confiscation passed without a dissentient voice. In other matters, the opposition showed less compliance; and a stormy session, in which much was said and little done, was at length abruptly terminated by an angry prorogation.

Sir Edmund Butler returned home, determined to resist the government by every means in his power. Sir Peter Carew laid claim to some lands possessed by this turbulent knight; and Butler, aware that the law was in favour of his adversary, prepared to defend his possessions by force of arms. At the same time the Geraldines of Desmond, enraged at the imprisonment of the Earl, were said to have received a Spanish emissary, and to have united with their mortal enemies the Butlers in preparing a general revolt. Carew was ordered to march against Butler, and immediately put his army in motion. He stormed one of his rival's castles, ravaged his lands, and then, advancing to Kilkenny, took quiet possession of the town. Hearing that a party of Butlers were in the neighbourhood, he marched out and found an unarmed multitude seemingly assembled from mere curiosity. Carew, however, anxious to signalise his valour, assailed the unsuspecting, and slew four hundred without the least resistance. This of course was represented by the partisans of government as a glorious victory; but there were many who denominated it as a barbarous and inhuman carnage.

About this time, Sir John Perrot began to take a lead in the affairs of Ireland. He was supposed to be the natural son of Henry the Eighth, and he inherited much of the better parts of that monarch's character. Proud, fiery and inflexible, he braved every danger, and faced every difficulty ; but, equally politic and humane, he restrained the rabid appetite for blood which Elizabeth's officers too frequently exhibited. By a judicious exertion of military skill and conciliating measures, he reduced the south to tranquillity, and made Fitz-Maurice the leader of the Geraldines a prisoner.

Sir William Fitz-William succeeded Sydney in the government of Ireland. During his administration several grants of the forfeited lands were made by Elizabeth ; but by the acts of her own servants they were all rendered ineffectual. The retainers of government thought, that, as they had struck down the victim, the spoil should be shared solely amongst themselves. Elizabeth had no such design. She meditated a project, afterwards executed by her successor, the plantation of Ulster with English colonies, holding their possessions from the crown by a species of military tenure. The most remarkable adventurer that embarked in this scheme, was Walter Devereux Earl of Essex, whose hopes were so sanguine, that he mortgaged his estate to the Queen for ten thousand pounds, in order to have sufficient funds for the expedition.

Opposed by the inveterate hostility of the native Irish, and the secret artifices of the local government, the Earl of Essex and the other adventurers, after a great waste of blood and treasure, at length began to despair of success. Essex petitioned to be recalled ; but, by the influence of his rival the Earl of

Leicester, Elizabeth was persuaded to refuse the request, and the disturbed state of Ireland afforded a sufficient pretext for detaining him in that country. The Earl of Desmond and his brother, who had been transmitted to Dublin, and still detained in custody, made their escape by the connivance of the mayor, and were supposed to be disposed to excite new disturbances. The tyranny and cruelty of Sir Edward Fitton, the President of Connaught, had driven the De Burghos into open insurrection, and the old sept of MacMurchard began to renew hostilities in Leinster. The perfidious conduct of Essex, who murdered a chieftain of the O'Neill's, after having treacherously invited him to dinner, increased the hatred which the northern Irish felt towards the intruders into their possessions. He was also harassed by the jealousy of Leicester, and by the secret practices of the local government. At length he fell a victim to this combination of perplexities, and died of vexation; though others assert that he was poisoned by Leicester's agent, a suspicion partly confirmed by the immediate marriage of that nobleman to the Countess of Essex.

A. D. 1576.—Sir Henry Sydney was again sent to Ireland, at a time when plague and pestilence were added to the calamities under which that wretched country laboured. The Deputy, by a vigorous display of power, overawed the discontented in the west and north. On the removal of Perrot, he sent Sir William Drury as president into Munster, trusting that his firmness and valour would establish the supremacy of the law in that province. Drury, who had displayed considerable abilities as governor of Berwick, seems to have been in many respects well calculated for this important office. Un-

fortunately he laboured under the disadvantage of being wholly ignorant of the usages of the people over whom he had to preside, and, like most of Elizabeth's governors, was inclined to despise the ancient nobility of the country. The presidential courts, from which the present Irish courts of quarter-session are derived, were regulated more by the discretion of the president, than by established principles of law; consequently, their efficiency and utility depended altogether on the personal character of the judge. In Connaught, Sir Edward Fitten had made these courts shocking engines of oppression. In Munster, under the administration of Drury, they were made to contribute essentially to the tranquillity of the country. Edward III. had granted the royalties of Kerry to the Geraldines of Desmond; and the malefactors, whom the vigour of Drury had driven from other parts of Munster, found refuge in that palatinate. Drury resolved to disregard all patent rights and vested interests which endangered the public peace; and declared his intention of proceeding to hold his court in Kerry. Desmond at first remonstrated; but, finding the President obstinate, he contented himself with making a formal protest, and invited Drury to his house in Tralee. The invitation was accepted; the President, with his train, proceeded to Kerry, and was met, on his entrance into the district, by a large body of the Geraldines, whom Desmond had sent to welcome his arrival. Drury, filled with the suspicions and jealousies of an English stranger, mistook these men for enemies; and, without waiting for a moment's parley, ordered his soldiers to charge. The Geraldines, without attempting the least resistance, fled in utter amazement, leaving the Countess of Desmond to explain

the extraordinary incident. Drury had the grace to be ashamed of his suspicions, and harmony was soon restored.

Sir Henry Sydaey, having thus tranquillized the country, determined to relieve the English government from some part of the great expenses which the state of Ireland had imposed upon it. The tax of purveyance, or a certain supply of provisions for the royal garrisons and the support of the governor's table, had been levied irregularly for several years in the English Pale. Most of the nobles, however, claimed the privilege of exemption, and threw the entire burden on the labouring classes. Sydney now resolved to convert this occasional subsidy into a permanent revenue, and to levy it equitably on all, somewhat in the manner of a county rate. That this was an undue extension of the royal prerogative, cannot be doubted ; but similar violations of the constitution were not unfrequent during the reigns of the Tudors, and the measure itself was manifestly equitable and beneficial. The loyalists of the Pale, however, cared little for justice or national interests, and resolved to make a determined resistance. They expressly denied the right of the Queen, or her Deputy, to levy taxes without the authority of Parliament, that is, without their own ; for as yet few, if any, but the proprietors of the Pale had a share in the Irish legislature. The Queen was confounded and provoked by this unexpected opposition. The outrageous professions of loyalty, made by the Lords of the Pale, when they wished that their unprincipled aggressions on the Irish should be sanctioned by royal authority, were forgotten, when the power was to be exercised against themselves. The passive obedience and non-resistance which they had

preached, was found to mean nothing more than the support of the royal power, when it did not interfere with their own interested views. The Deputy, however, encouraged by the Queen, determined to persevere ; and the proprietors of the Pale were equally resolute not to yield. They sent over a deputation to remonstrate with the Queen ; and that imperious Princess at once threw the agents into prison. Even this spirited proceeding failed to humble the factious oligarchy ; they persisted in their opposition, and finally triumphed. Elizabeth compromised the affair, by accepting an apology for the undutiful *manner* of the remonstrance, and the proposed assessment was laid aside.

Thus terminated a transaction which most Irish historians have studiously misrepresented. The advocates of the oligarchy describe it as an unwarrantable usurpation on the part of the government, which ought to have been vigorously resisted. The few who support the cause of the native Irish profess to see in it a continuation of the systematic tyranny which they attribute to all English rulers. Impartial posterity rejects both, even though both coincide for once in sentiment. The adoption of the measure would have given strength to the government and security to the nation. It would also have circumscribed the power of a factious ascendancy, whose extravagant privileges were ever opposed to the justice and benevolence of the prince — to the peace and the happiness of the people.

The state of Ireland began now to attract the attention of foreign nations. The courts of Rome and Madrid, inveterately hostile to Elizabeth, received with kindness the numerous exiles whom the tyranny of the local government had driven into ban-

nishment ; and it soon became manifest, that new and more formidable calamities impended over that wretched island. The Pope had really some plausible grounds of complaint. Ireland had been literally a donation from the Holy See to the crown of England ; and, up to the reign of Henry VIII. the English monarchs professed to govern the island as deputies to the successors of Saint Peter. So far, then, as law could be supposed to regulate the affairs of nations, Elizabeth had, by her heresy, forfeited her claim to Ireland, and the Pope was fully justified in reclaiming the grant. These plausible arguments were so frequently repeated, that they began to make a deep impression on the minds of many, who had hitherto acquiesced in Elizabeth's supremacy ; and the systematic cruelty and injustice of the local government in Ireland disposed a great part of the people to seek for relief in a change of dynasty, conscious that almost any alteration would be for the better.

Fitz-Maurice, one of the Geraldines, having been long detained a prisoner, was at length dismissed without a trial. Inflamed with resentment, he visited successively the courts of Paris, Rome and Madrid, representing to the several sovereigns the hostility of the Irish to their present rulers, and the ease with which the conquest of that island might be effected. In France, the adventurer met no encouragement ; at Rome, he received promises and spiritual aids in abundance, but neither men nor money ; and Philip of Spain was too busily engaged in preparing for the conquest of Portugal, to lend him any assistance. (A. D. 1578.) Fitz-Maurice, however, was not discouraged ; he assembled a troop of eighty Spaniards, and with this handful of men determined to invade Ireland. So little was the

government prepared for such an attempt, that the fleet had been withdrawn from the southern coast, and Sydney allowed to resign the office of Deputy to Sir William Drury.

The ill-omened expedition arrived safely in the Bay of Limerick, in the county of Kerry; but scarcely had the invaders landed, when their vessels were taken by an English ship of war. The Earl of Desmond positively refused to countenance this insane undertaking; but his brothers were not equally prudent. Sir James and Sir John, with a small troop of their retainers, joined the adventurers. Fitz-Maurice, enraged at the coolness of the Earl, pretended to doubt the sincerity of Sir John of Desmond, and thus induced that turbulent knight to prove his zeal in the cause by an atrocious murder. Henry Davels, an English gentleman, from his well-known attachment to the Geraldines, was supposed to possess considerable influence over the family of Desmond, and was therefore sent by the Deputy, on the first news of the invasion, to persuade them to continue their allegiance. He succeeded with the Earl, and did not altogether despair of rescuing Sir John from his dangerous enterprise. But while Davels was quietly waiting the effect of his remonstrances in Tralee, Sir John suddenly attacked the house, and put all within it to the sword.

The invaders were every where unsuccessful, and Fitz-Maurice was slain in a petty skirmish with the De Burghos. The Lord-deputy advanced into Munster, but unfortunately received a repulse from Sir John Desmond. This disgrace was, however, retrieved by Sir Nicholas Malby, who completely overthrew the insurgents near Kilmallock, and pursued them with considerable slaughter. Among the slain was found the body of Allen, a Jesuit, who had a

principal share in prevailing on the Geraldines to take up arms. The Earl of Desmond was now in a most embarrassing situation. He had taken no share in the insurrection ; he had loudly denounced the atrocities which his brother sanctioned ; but he knew that he was viewed with suspicion and hatred by the local government, and that he could expect no aid from England, where his rival Ormond possessed the unlimited confidence of the Queen. No prudence could probably have saved this unfortunate nobleman, whose destruction was long predetermined. His professions of loyalty, his complaints of unmerited injuries, were equally disregarded. Sir William Pelham, who had been elected Deputy on the death of Drury, sent him a peremptory order to surrender himself a prisoner within twenty days ; and, on his refusal, war was proclaimed against him as a traitor. That Desmond was justified in refusing, is evident. The political history of Ireland, and especially the state trials in that country, fully exemplify the maxim of honest old Fuller, "It is quarrel and cause enough to bring a sheep that is fat to the shambles." In fact, the partisans of government deigned not to disguise, that the possessions of Desmond were deemed too extensive for a subject, and that their forfeiture was irrevocably determined. Besides, the Earl remembered his former severe imprisonment, and was naturally disinclined to trust a second time those who had previously treated him with tyranny and treachery.

The war against Desmond was conducted with ferocious cruelty, unsurpassed in the history of mankind. Fire, famine, and slaughter together, desolated the most fertile parts of Munster. From the savage rage of a relentless soldiery, innocence furnished no protection. Helpless infancy and totter-

ing age found no mercy. Admiral Winter, with the humanity natural to a British sailor, was shocked by the horrid massacre, and granted protections to a few that escaped to his fleet. Will it be believed, that even this partial mercy was denounced by the zealous partisans of government, who would be satisfied with nothing short of extermination ? Yes, it must be believed ; for, within the memory of man, the merciful policy of Lord Cornwallis was similarly honoured, by the opposition of those who were maddened by a rabid appetite for blood.

The unfortunate Earl bravely prepared to sell his life as dearly as he could, and made several gallant attacks on his adversaries. In one of these, he captured the town of Youghal, and soon after defeated the Earl of Ormond, who was advancing to succour the town. Yet, from the very beginning, Desmond despaired of final success. He made the most humble tenders of submission and allegiance, which were uniformly rejected. He even offered to surrender to Winter, on condition of being conveyed to England to plead his cause before the Queen, and was sternly refused.

The government of Ireland was now transferred to one whose name enjoys a bad preeminence in the list of those who rivalled in Europe the barbarities of the Spaniards in South America. Arthur Lord Grey superseded Pelham, and hastened, by what he called vigorous efforts, to put an end to the Irish war. His first enterprise was an attack on the sept of the O'Byrnes, who were said to have joined Lord Baltinglass in alliance with the Geraldines, and to have formed a camp within twenty-five miles of Dublin. The station chosen by the insurgents was in the midst of those wild and romantic valleys in the county of Wicklow, which are now so often vi-

sited by the admirers of sublime scenery. Their principal station was Glendalough,* where the massive ruins of seven churches attest the former piety and civilization of Ireland. Here, secured by rock and mountain, and lake and morass, a numerous force collected, unable, indeed, to meet even a detachment of regular troops in the field, but strong enough to defy myriads in their fastnesses. The officers, experienced in the Irish wars, vainly remonstrated with the Deputy, when commanded to attack this impregnable position; but they were answered with reproach and insult, and an immediate assault was ordered. The soldiers advanced through ground which became more difficult with every step, and at length were entangled in a bog between two wooded hills, where it became impossible to preserve any longer the semblance of order. While thus confused and broken, they were suddenly exposed to a murderous fire, that opened at once on front, flank and rear, from the woods and rocks that skirted the ravine. No

* For details regarding the present state of Glendalough, the reader may refer to the works of modern tourists, and Irish road-books. Its appearance about thirty years ago is delineated on our Frontispiece—beautifully reduced from a sketch by Dr. Wynne; but whoever would become acquainted with its early history, and the splendour of its city and sacred edifices, must consult Ledwich's valuable "Antiquities of Ireland," Dublin, 1790. It appears, that so early as the ninth century, a large and populous city, of undefined magnificence, existed in this lovely valley; that wealth flowed in it abundantly; but a-bounding, as it did, in riches and votive offerings, and consequently becoming an object of plunder to the piratical free-booters of the North, it so rapidly fell to decay, that, according to a letter still extant, addressed in 1214 by O'Ruardan, Archbishop of Tuam, to Pope Innocent III., "for forty years back it had become a den and nest of thieves and robbers, so that more murders were committed in that valley than in any other place in Ireland, occasioned by the waste and desert solitude thereof." The Seven Churches, the ruins of which are still visible, seem to have been erected at different periods, and are unquestionably of great antiquity. Their names are, 1. the Abbey; 2. the Cathedral; 3. St Kevin's Kitchen; 4. Teampall na Skellig; 5. Our Lady's Church; 6. Trinity Church; and 7. Ivy Church. These interesting ruins are situated in the barony of Ballynacor, about twenty-two miles south of Dublin, and eleven north-west of Wicklow.—*Editor of Constable's Miscellany.*

exaction of the officers could save this devoted army. They were cut off almost to a man. A miserable remnant escaped to the Lord-deputy, who returned to Dublin covered with shame and confusion.

This severe repulse bitterly enraged the Deputy, and probably rendered his hatred of the Irish insurgents more inveterate. To retrieve his fame, he resolved to bring the Desmond war to a speedy conclusion, and made instant preparations for a march to Munster. His proceedings were accelerated by alarming intelligence. He learned that a body of Spaniards, seven hundred strong, had landed in Munster; that they brought with them arms for five thousand men, and a considerable sum of money, which they were directed to place at the disposal of the Earl of Desmond, and Saunders a Jesuit, who had taken a part in the former expedition. The forces of the Spaniards were miserably inadequate; and, as they had been sent without previous concert, the Irish were unprepared for their reception. Scarcely had the foreigners landed, when they were attacked by the Earl of Ormond. He, indeed, obtained only a slight advantage; but he was still able to hold them in check, until the coming up of the royal forces from Dublin. At this critical moment, Admiral Winter arrived on the coast; and the Spaniards were blockaded in the intrenchment, which they had named Golden Fort, by sea and land. It is uncertain whether the garrison finally surrendered on terms, or at discretion. The atrocity that followed is in either case inexcusable. Grey ordered the whole to be butchered; and his orders were executed in the spirit that they were given. There are two names mixed up with this detestable transaction, among the proudest in the annals of English literature, and the highest in the records of fame—Sir

Walter Raleigh and Edmund Spenser. It is with feelings of pain for the degradation of human nature, that we see Raleigh presiding at the ruthless massacre, and Spenser, who was Grey's secretary, sharing in the counsels by which it was sanctioned, and subsequently writing in its vindication.

The news of this revolting butchery excited the indignation of all Europe, and raised an outcry against the English government, which Elizabeth was forced to allay, by declaring her public displeasure against the perpetrators; but as they were all continued in office, her anger was manifestly a mere hollow pretence. The war with Desmond—if, indeed, the name of war could be given to a systematic career of devastation and cruelty that met no resistance—was continued; and efforts were made to enlarge the expected forfeitures, by involving all the Catholic proprietors in the guilt of pretended rebellion. Raleigh distinguished himself in the south, by insulting those who dared not resist, and seizing on the persons of men whose wealth formed their only crime. Among other heroic exploits, we find him taking the Lord Roche by surprise, and dragging him to Cork, whence, after a painful imprisonment, he was dismissed, after having satisfactorily established his innocence. Grey's proceedings in Leinster were still more enormous. He seized Nugent, a Baron of the Exchequer, the Earl of Kildare, Lord Delvin, and others, on a charge of conspiracy, and hastened to bring them to trial. Nugent was the only victim. To be accused and convicted, were long synonymous terms in Irish courts of law; and Nugent was found guilty, on evidence which no historian has yet ventured to pronounce worthy of credit. His execution followed with indecent precipitation; and the retainers of govern-

ment themselves were ashamed of the outrageous conduct of the Deputy. Kildare, his son Lord Ofally, and his son-in-law Lord Delvin, were sent for trial to England. The charges brought against them were disproved to the satisfaction of even the jealous Elizabeth. She pronounced them acquitted not only of the guilt, but of the very suspicion of disloyalty. The outcry against Grey's military cruelties and judicial murders became now too loud to be disregarded. The acquittal of Kildare, the principal, as was asserted, in the pretended conspiracy, proved the innocence of Nugent and the others who had been executed as accessories. The people of England, always just when their passions and prejudices are not artificially roused, joined in the clamour; and the Continental nations repeated the accounts of the barbarities and butcheries perpetrated in Ireland. The Queen at length yielded to these representations. She was assured, with truth, that, in consequence of Grey's tyranny, little remained for her to rule over in Munster but ashes and carcasses. Moved by pity or policy, she recalled her Deputy, appointed Loftus, Archbishop of Dublin, and Sir Henry Wallop, the Treasurer, Lords Justices; and offered pardon to all insurgents who would lay down their arms.

But before this, the Desmond war was finished. The miscreant Sir John Desmond fell in battle. Saunders perished by famine in a miserable hovel, where his body was found mangled by wild beasts; and the hapless old Earl had become.

“ A hunted wanderer on the wild.”

A. D. 1583.—Ormond, with disgraceful zeal, continued to pursue his old rival, and chased him from all his miserable retreats. At length he was

reduced to such straits, that there was reason to dread that he and his small train would perish by famine. Two horsemen and a few kerns seized on some cattle to supply the necessities of their old master. They were unfortunately watched by the owner, and chased by a party of English soldiers. It was evening when the pursuers came to the opening of a wooded valley, where they resolved to halt. Suddenly they saw a light in a small hut at a distance, and, supposing that they had discovered a party of rebels, they cautiously advanced under the guidance of Kelly of Moriarta, a man of Irish race. On entering the hovel, they found in it only one old man of a venerable aspect, but exhausted by famine and fatigue, stretched languidly before the expiring embers. Kelly struck and wounded him. "Spare me," he exclaimed, "I am the Earl of Desmond!" Kelly repeated his blow, and the aged nobleman was slain. His head was sent to Ormond, by whom it was forwarded to the Queen; a fit present for such a sovereign, and by her direction it was impaled on London Bridge.

Thus fell the head of the eldest branch of the Geraldines; a family which, during four centuries, had held the chief power in Munster, and had frequently proved too strong to be governed. The whole course of the detestable policy by which the catastrophe was effected, was perfectly consistent. He was driven against his will into rebellion by the subtle malignity of Ormond, and others envious of his power, and desirous of his estates. The war against him was marked by every cruelty and outrage which could disgrace human nature; and the tranquillity thus effected was continuity of desolation and the stillness of the grave:

"They made a solitude, and called it peace."

CHAPTER XI.

The Administration of Sir John Perrot.

A. D. 1584.—Sir John Perrot, who had given such satisfaction as President of Munster, was sent over as chief governor to Ireland. No appointment could have been more judicious. His character was not sullied by the craft of Sydney, or the cruelty of Grey; in abilities, he was superior to both; and, unlike either, his integrity was unquestionable. He was the first governor, since the days of Duke Richard, who attempted to conciliate the native Irish by impartial justice; and the success which attended the experiment, proves how easily might England have conciliated the affections of that ardent race. The first act of his administration was to publish a general amnesty; and to issue a strict prohibition against the outrages and spoliations of the soldiers, too often encouraged by their commanders. The youthful son of the unfortunate Desmond, who had been given into his hands by his followers, he sent over to England, in order that he might receive an education suitable to his rank.

The Desmond estates amounted to six hundred thousand acres; and it was necessary to summon a Parliament, in order that this vast property should

be vested in the Crown. A host of hungry expectants eagerly waited the event, hoping that rich estates would reward the crimes which had brought about the confiscation. Parrot soon proved that he had not learned Sydney's art of constructing an obedient parliament. There was no secret interference with the elections; and an independent House of Commons, fairly representing the people, was returned. In this assembly we find, for the first time, several of the original Irish families joined in deliberation with the settlers of the Pale. Cavan was represented by two of the ancient house of O'Reilly; O'Brien was returned for Clare; the county of Down sent Sir Hugh Macgeanis; John MacBrien was member for Antrim; and the representatives of Longford were the O'Ferghals or O'Ferrals. In the Upper House sat two bishops, professed Roman Catholics, from the sees of Clogher and Raphoe, over which Elizabeth had as yet exercised no control; and Turlough, the nominal head of the O'Neils, took his seat as Earl of Tyrone.

Never did any government meet a more hostile legislature. The suspension of Poymings' Law, now an ordinary mark of confidence in a new chief governor, was refused; thirteen bills, transmitted from England, were rejected; the ordinary subsidies were withheld; and two acts, of trifling importance, concluded the labours of the session. The cause of this spirit, so totally unparalleled in the annals of Irish legislation, was the general horror which the iniquitous proceedings against the Earl of Desmond had occasioned. The great lords of English descent, that had cheered the bloodhounds to run down O'Neill, were alarmed by the destruction of the greatest of their own party, and felt sympathy

for the fate of one connected with most of them by marriage or by blood. The massacres and devastations in Munster excited the indignation of many who had been previously attached to the government. They saw the country placed at the mercy of bankrupt adventurers, and a licentious soldiery, whose excesses had been encouraged, rather than controlled. The policy of exciting rebellions, in order to reward the retainers of the Castle by confiscation, had been openly avowed. And, finally, the barbarous system of crushing the resources, lest, if cultivated, they might enable that country to rival England, or perhaps attain independence, had been zealously advocated in the English Parliament. The members of the Irish legislature have frequently been deaf to the claims of justice and patriotism, but never blind to their own private interest. They saw, or thought they saw, measures taken for their destruction, and therefore met the government with the most obstinate resistance.

Perrot, aware that the opposition had too good grounds for suspicion and complaint, showed neither surprise nor resentment at the defeat of his measures. He diligently applied himself to the improvement of the country, and trusted that his actions would give the best evidence of his claims to confidence. His first care was to assure all parties of protection in person and property; to administer justice without regard to sect or party; and to reform the gross abuses that had been encouraged by his predecessors. His scheme was crowned with success. The native Irish, conciliated by an appearance of equal government, vied with each other in expressions of loyalty and allegiance. The Lords of the Pale laid aside their sullenness, and crowded

to the court of the Deputy ; the feuds between the barons were suspended ; and an opportunity was apparently offered of removing at once, and for ever, the intolerable load of evil which had been accumulating for centuries.

But Perrot found his wise schemes counteracted in the very quarters where he naturally looked for support. Elizabeth was just in as bad a humour as her Irish Parliament, and refused to furnish her Deputy with men or money. She even yielded to the secret whispers of the malevolent, and received the news of his popularity with suspicion. The creatures of the late government still held their offices in the Castle. Nurtured in corrupt practices, they naturally detested an equitable administration, and laboured, not wholly without success, to counteract the wise and liberal measures of the Lord-deputy. Nor are we to be surprised at this state of affairs. Within our own memory, Ireland has exhibited the strange scene of a conciliating government checked, controlled, and insulted by its own underlings, who formed a cabal which the nominal executive wanted either the spirit or the power to break up. Unfortunately, Perrot added the Church to the number of his enemies, by proposing a scheme which evinced more wisdom and generosity than prudence. Conceiving that one cathedral was quite sufficient for Dublin, he proposed that the other should be converted into a university, and its revenues employed for the diffusion of education. Loftus, the archbishop, immediately became, not only Perrot's political opponent, but his bitter and violent enemy. The most wicked perversions of his words and actions were transmitted to England. Even the most audacious forgeries were framed—one, a pretended

complaint from Turlough O'Neill, which the old chieftain denounced by a solemn embassy to Elizabeth. The second, and more mischievous, was a pretended protection granted to a Romish priest, in which the Deputy was made to assume the style of a sovereign. It was easy to expose these abominable frauds ; but it was impossible to remove the jealous suspicions with which they filled the mind of Elizabeth. Thenceforward she treated Perrot with mortifying coldness, and neglected the advice of the only honest servant she ever employed in Ireland. She employed Fenton, the Under Secretary of State, as a spy upon his actions ; and found this functionary anxious to fulfil his duties in such an honourable situation.

The popularity of Perrot was fully proved in the second session of the Irish Parliament. The bills for the regulation of public affairs, and the raising of necessary supplies, were passed almost unanimously ; but the forfeiture of the Desmond property was still resisted. At length, after a fierce struggle, acts were passed for the attainer of the deceased Lord, and one hundred and forty of his associates, all of whose immense estates were vested in the crown.

The great object which Elizabeth's ministers had so long pursued, was now attained. An opportunity was offered for planting, as it was called, an English colony in Ireland. The needy followers of the court, the younger brothers of noble families, and adventurers of more questionable description, were invited to become *undertakers*, as those who received grants were called. The lands were granted at a nominal rent, on the condition that the undertakers should let them to none but English tenants ; should support garrisons on the frontiers of the province ;

and should not permit any of the native Irish to settle on their estates. A portion of the property was also granted to some of the Geraldines ; and a very considerable share of it was seized by the retainers of the local government, who well knew the means of resisting the royal rights, without incurring the penalties of rebellion. The entire scheme of the plantation totally failed. The undertakers scandalously violated their contracts. They, as others of the same class before and since have done, preferred the Irish serf to the independent freeholder ; and the opportunity of introducing an orderly middle class into Ireland, which Elizabeth had acquired at the expense of so much blood, was lost by the venality of her unprincipled servants. The confiscation in Munster proved as ruinous to the power and interest of the crown, as it was iniquitous in itself. The new proprietors, suddenly raised to wealth and station from comparative insignificance, disregarded the royal authority ; and, being supported by the local government, were enabled to indulge in excesses and outrages with impunity.

The jealousy of Elizabeth induced her to limit the power of Perrot, by giving the privy council a control over his proceedings. The loss of his influence was soon felt. Bingham, the president of Connaught, by excessive tyranny, drove the De Burghs to revolt ; and, when censured for his cruelty by the Deputy, pleaded the old excuse of state necessity. The disturbance was quelled, not without some barbarous murders, which Perrot was unable to prevent ; and the Queen's officers, no longer dreading the Deputy, fleeced and persecuted the unfortunate Irish with fresh severity. The agents of Rome and Spain, took advantage of this unwise po-

licy, to spread among the nation a determined hostility to the English, and a desire to be placed under the protection of his Catholic majesty. But during the administration of Perrot, the great bulk of the native Irish clergy remained loyal, and successfully counteracted the machinations of the foreigners.

The news of these secret proceedings greatly alarmed Elizabeth. She was even induced to make an effort to conciliate her Irish subjects ; and, with her usual promptitude, at once acted on her resolution. By the patent of Henry VIII., the succession to the earldom of Tyrone, and chieftainry of Hy-Niall, had been granted to Matthew, Lord Dungannon, and his heirs. Hugh, the eldest son of the baron, had been educated in England, and had served with great eclat in the royal army. His valour, activity, and skill, had been commemorated by several generals, and his fidelity proved in the long war against Desmond. He petitioned for permission to take his seat in the Lords as earl of Tyrone, and also the restoration of his estates. The first request was readily granted by Perrot ; for the second, he was referred to the Queen in person. Hugh O'Neill appeared at the court of England, not like his uncle John, as an Irish chief, but as an accomplished courtier, versed in all the politeness of the age. His easy manners, his superior information, and his winning address, delighted a queen never blind to such accomplishments. She treated him with the greatest partiality, and finally granted him the ancient possessions of his family.

Nothing could exceed the rage and disappointment of the faction that directed the Irish government, when they received the intelligence of this event. Little did they dream, when opposing the

plantation of Ulster, that, instead of securing estates for themselves, they were only preserving for O'Neill the inheritance of his ancestors. They felt like ravenous beasts whose prey is rent from their jaws, and were unable to control some indiscreet displays of their vexation. Their malice soon found vent in calumny ; and Elizabeth, ever prone to jealousy, lent too ready an ear to their insinuations. She had ordered O'Neill to raise six companies for the defence of Ulster. It was reported that, by continually changing his soldiers, he was training the entire province to arms. She had directed him to build a house in the English fashion, suited to his rank ; it was asserted that the lead which he purchased for the battlements, was designed to form bullets. She requested him to use his influence over the neighbouring chieftains for the maintenance of tranquillity. His exertions for the purpose were stigmatized as a direct assumption of royal authority. O'Neill disregarded these plots, while Perrot continued to hold the reins of power ; but his administration was fast drawing to a close. Almost his last act of government was the only one which cast a shade upon his character. On the reported defection of the chieftain of Tyrconnel, he procured a ship disguised as a Spanish vessel laden with wine. By his orders, the captain proceeded to the coast of Tyrconnel, invited the chieftain's son to come on board to taste his wines, and, as soon as he stepped on the deck, made him a prisoner, and conveyed him to Dublin, where he was detained as a hostage for his father's fidelity. Shortly after Perrot was permitted to resign, he assured the Queen that he could govern her Irish subjects without difficulty, but that no power could control her English ser-

vants. Before his departure, he assembled most of the Irish lords, explained to them the dangers that menaced the country from a Spanish invasion, and exhorted them to preserve their allegiance. By this affectionate remonstrance, a great number were melted almost to tears, and all faithfully promised to observe his advice. He resigned the sword of state to Sir William Fitz-William, declaring that he left the kingdom in peace, and that, even as a private man, he would engage to quell any disturbance in twenty days, without violence or contest. The day on which this meritorious governor embarked, displayed a scene which, unfortunately, is not without a parallel in the annals of Ireland. It was a day of national mourning, in which the native Irish and the English settlers joined, with the exception of the official plunderers, whose rapacity he had restrained. Vast crowds accompanied him to the water-side, whose shouts in his praise were mingled with lamentations for his loss; and not the least interesting figure of the group was old Turlough of Tir-owen, whose grief for the departure of his protector was inconsolable.

CHAPTER XH.

The War against Hugh O'Neill.

THE judicious administration of Sir John Perrot had given to Ireland unusual peace and prosperity. The conduct of his successor produced a new train of calamities and crimes, whose consequences are scarcely yet effaced. Sir William Fitz-William had but one object in view, his own private emolument; and in pursuit of this, he disregarded the very appearances of justice and decency. After the defeat of that Armada which Philip of Spain had proudly named invincible, several of the ships were wrecked on the northern and north-western coasts of Ireland. Reports were circulated that these vessels contained enormous wealth, and that the Irish chieftains were secreting the treasures which ought to enrich the state. Blinded by avarice, Fitz-William, without examining the accuracy of the intelligence, seized Sir Owen MacTeole and Sir John O'Dogherty, on suspicion of having concealed these supposed stores, and consigned them to a painful imprisonment, which lasted for several years. This unjust severity towards two gentlemen conspicuous for their zealous loyalty, revived the jealous hatred of the English government, which Perrot had so happily suppressed. O'Neill, who had long been aware of the an-

tipathy of the local governments, resolved to anticipate the danger ; and, without waiting for the Deputy's license, presented himself at the court of Elizabeth. Here he was accused by one of his relatives, a natural son of John O'Neill, for having entered into a secret alliance with the Spaniards, and endeavoured to form a general confederacy against the English. These calumnies were easily refuted ; and Elizabeth, persuaded of O'Neill's integrity, dismissed him with marks of confidence and favour. About the same time, several hostages of the northern lords, who were detained as prisoners in Dublin, made their escape, as was suspected, by the secret connivance of the Deputy. They were hotly pursued. Hugh O'Donnel, whose seizure by Perrot has been already mentioned, and one of the O'Neills, sought refuge among the septs in the vicinity of the capital. The season was uncommonly rigorous, the power of the government justly dreaded, and the friends on whom the young noblemen relied, too weak or too cowardly to afford them protection. After some days, their pursuers found them in a miserable hovel, where young O'Neill was expiring of famine, and O'Donel deprived of the use of his limbs by cold and fatigue. The latter was brought to Dublin, where his health was finally restored ; but his hatred of the government which had subjected him to such misery, became, for the future, a fixed principle of action.

A still more atrocious outrage increased the hostility of the Irish. Fitz-William, under pretence of settling some disputed claims to property, marched into Monaghan, the territory of a chief named MacMahon, and arrested that Lord on a charge of treason. The accusation was, that he had, two years

before, employed a military force to collect his rents —an offence pronounced treasonable within the limits of the English jurisdiction, -but which was no unusual practice in Monaghan and other districts beyond the Pale. For this pretended crime, MacMahon was tried by a jury of common soldiers, found guilty, and, to his utter astonishment, ordered to be immediately executed. This judicial murder was followed by the immediate forfeiture of the chieftain's lands, which were shared between the unprincipled Fitz-William and Sir Henry Bagnal, his worthy associate.

O'Neill viewed with just alarm this infamous transaction, and began secretly to prepare for a struggle which he knew could not much longer be averted. His marriage with Bagnal's sister had procured him the bitter enmity of that powerful officer; and this unnatural hatred was manifested by a pertinacious system of misrepresentation at the English court, which soon revived the natural jealousy of Elizabeth. The prudence and political wisdom of O'Neill enabled him to baffle the artifices of his insidious enemies; and he soon gave a proof of his loyalty too unequivocal to be misrepresented or denied. MacGuire, the chieftain of Fermanagh, had been guilty of some outrages which the Deputy determined to chastise; and Bagnal was ordered to lead an army against him. O'Neill immediately brought his forces to aid his mortal enemy against his kinsman. He rescued Bagnal from the dangers into which he had been brought by his presumption, and was severely wounded in a successful battle which he fought against his countrymen. His enemies were for a time disconcerted by this bold

proof of loyalty, and their crafty insinuations were for a season silenced or disregarded.

About this time, the University of Dublin was founded. The suppressed monastery of All-Hallows, which stood at a short distance from the city gate, was assigned by Elizabeth for the site of the new college; and by the strenuous exertions of those to whom the care of the new institution was intrusted, it soon obtained considerable eminence and prosperity.

Fitz-William was succeeded in the government of Rome by Sir John Russell, son to the Duke of Bedford. O'Neill presented himself to the new Deputy, but found himself unable to efface the unfavourable impressions which the slanders of Bagnal and his other enemies had produced. The expediency of arresting the chief was debated at the Council Board, and negatived by a small majority. O'Neill soon learned his danger, and fled to his own country with the utmost precipitation.

Hugh O'Donnell, soon after his escape from Dublin, married the daughter of O'Neill, and, about the same time, succeeded his father as tanist of Tyrconnel. Irritated by his unmerited sufferings, he took up arms against his sovereign, and prevailed on several other septs, particularly the degenerate De Burghes, to follow his example. The situation of O'Neill was now in the highest degree embarrassing; his countrymen unanimously invited him to become their leader in war; the royal officers were resolved to discredit his sincere anxiety for peace; the perfidy and treachery of the Irish government was so notorious, that it would have been madness to place any confidence in it; and his letters to England were intercepted by the malignant vigilance of Bag-

ual. Driven forward by such a combination of circumstances, O'Neill, after a long and anxious delay, took the decisive step of attacking the English garrison, stationed at a fort called Blackwater.

On the first news of these hostilities, a force of two thousand veterans were sent into Ireland; and soon after Sir John Norris, a general of approved skill and valour, was appointed to take the command of the army. O'Neill, dreading the chances of civil war, wrote to the General, detailing his grievances, and the arts by which he was driven to revolt. Bagnall, as before, intercepted some of the letters; but others reached their destination, and led to a general conference. The Irish chiefs detailed their grievances in simple but forcible terms. Norris, who was an honest as well as an able man, was convinced of the injustice which had driven them to arms, and zealously laboured to effect a negotiation. The arrangement of a treaty was protracted to a very unusual length, and was not unfrequently interrupted by renewed hostilities. In fact, with the single exception of Norris, none of the parties sincerely laboured for peace. The Irish Lords were now conscious of their strength. The successes they had already obtained were sufficiently decisive to inspire confidence, and they had received many promises of assistance from Spain. The officers of the Irish government were eager to enrich themselves by new confiscations, and threw every obstacle in the way of an equitable adjustment. The Earl of Tyrone's judicious question, in fact, showed that a reconciliation was scarcely possible. "Though," said O'Neill, "I might safely make peace with men of honour, like Norris and Russell, what security have

I for the character and conduct of their successors?"

The little progress made by Norris in subduing the Irish, created equal disappointment and displeasure in England. The statesmen of Elizabeth's court made no allowances for the difficulties of a country, where a defensible military position may be found at every mile; where morasses and forests, and rocks and mountains, baffled the valour and discipline of the invaders. The Earl of Essex, Elizabeth's prime favourite, was also personally opposed to Norris. By his influence, both the General and the Deputy were deprived of their power, and his partisan, Lord Burgh, invested both with the civil and military authority. Norris retired to his presidency, where he died of a broken heart, in consequence of the unmerited stain cast upon his reputation.

The career of Lord Burgh was brief and disastrous. He hoped to acquire fame and fortune by a vigorous prosecution of the war, and by his activity to prove the culpable negligence of which Norris was accused. He collected his forces with extreme diligence; he summoned the Lords of the Pale to attend his standard; and advanced towards Ulster with a power apparently sufficient to bear down all opposition. O'Neill, on his part, displayed equal industry, and greater skill. He sent Tyrrel, his lieutenant, to rouse the septs in Connaught, while he collected all his partisans in Ulster. Tyrrel obtained some signal advantages. He defeated and captured the son of Lord Trimblestown, while leading his father's vassals to the assistance of the Deputy; and he forced Sir Conyers

Clifford, who headed another reinforcement, to make a calamitous retreat.

Lord Burgh, undaunted by these reverses, boldly attacked Tyrone in his lines near Armagh, and, after a fierce fight, drove the Irish from their intrenchments. O'Neill retired to another and better position, which the English inconsiderately assailed. They were defeated ; and Lord Burgh, with the flower of his army, fell in the conflict. The command devolved on Kildare, who was disinclined to make any new effort. Indeed, the Earl did not long retain his post ; he died of grief for the loss of his two foster-brothers, who were slain in rescuing him from the enemy.

The civil administration was now committed to Archbishop Loftus, and Gardiner, the Lord Chancellor, while Ormond was intrusted with the command of the army. To this lord, O'Neill made overtures for an accommodation, and a new treaty was commenced. The object of Tyrone, in this negotiation, was manifestly only anxious to gain time, for the double purpose of recruiting his own strength, and wearing out the patience of his opponents. When his preparations were complete, he threw off the mask, summoned to his aid the sept of the O'Donnels, and that clan of the De Burghos which bore the name of MacWilliam, boldly declared his independence, and laid close siege to the fort of Blackwater. Bagnal was ordered to relieve the place ; and the armies of two generals, nearly connected by marriage, and yet, animated with more than mortal enmity, met near Armagh. The forces on both sides were nearly equal. The English possessed superior advantages in arms and discipline ; the Irish were animated by a fiercer spirit,

and had a more skilful commander. In the heat of the engagement, an explosion of some gunpowder threw the royalists into confusion ; at the same time Bagwell, while raising his beaver, was shot through the brain. The victory of the Irish was decisive ; fifteen hundred of the royal soldiers, and many of their best officers, fell. Thirty-four standards, all the artillery, arms and ammunition, remained in the possession of the conquerors. The bravery of O'Reilly, an Irish chieftain attached to the royal cause, alone saved the army from annihilation. He covered the retreat with a body of his own clan, and was ably assisted by Montague, the commander of the English cavalry. The fort of Blackwater was immediately surrendered, and the town of Armagh abandoned by the royal garrison.

This great victory was apparently decisive. The flame of insurrection spread rapidly through the west and south. The Irish, who had been deprived of their lands, with one accord attacked the undertakers, and drove them from their settlements. The O'Moore's in Leinster, the remnant of the Geraldines in Munster, the Irish septs in Kerry, were all in arms. The English every where sought refuge in the fortified towns on the east coast, and dared not move beyond their walls. O'Neill made every use of his advantages ; he reconciled old feuds, allayed former animosities, and gave to the Irish septs a degree of union and combination which they never before had possessed. He also sent ambassadors to the Spanish court, earnestly entreating Philip to send him effective assistance.

Elizabeth was now really alarmed. The base sycophants, whose avarice and cruelty had driven the Irish into insurrection, stood aghast at the conse-

quences. Reports arrived that Philip was preparing two immense armaments, one to invade England, and the other to aid O'Neill in Ireland. It became manifest, that, without great and speedy exertion, the Queen would irretrievably lose the fairest possession of the crown. She acted on this trying occasion with her usual promptitude. She sent into the country an army of twenty thousand men, commanded by the Earl of Essex, esteemed the most gallant soldier of the age.

Essex received the title of Lord Lieutenant, and more ample powers than the caution of Elizabeth had hitherto permitted her to confer on a subject. It is not easy to discover the real motives that impelled the unfortunate Earl to seek this fatal command. Probably he expected a cheap victory, and hoped that military glory would increase his ascendancy over the mind of his fond mistress. His friends and enemies alike were eager to hurry his departure; the former, in delusive anticipation of triumph; the latter, more wisely calculating on the diminution of his influence by his absence from court, and on the probable effects of his presumptuous folly in rousing the jealous anger of Elizabeth.

The news of the arrival of such an immense armament, did not diminish the confidence of O'Neill and his supporters. They waited with stern indifference the proceedings of the Lord Lieutenant, and determined to wear him down by a tedious defensive war. There is reason to believe, that a part of the Irish Privy Council had engaged in the service of the enemies of Essex in the English cabinet; at all events, their persuasions precipitated his ruin. Instead of marching into Ulster, and bringing O'Neill at once

to a decisive engagement, he marched southwards to an exhausted country, where his troops were wasted by fatigue and famine. The Irish avoided any decisive battle, but obtained several advantages over detached parties. The cavalry, in their passage through Leix, suffered severely from an attack of the O'Moore's; and such was the quantity of feathers lost by the brilliant corps, that the Irish named the place of action *the Pass of Plumes*. The O'Byrnes of Leinster, with inferior forces, severely and shamefully defeated another division of the army; and Essex could only show his vexation, by decimating the unfortunate soldiers, and cashiering the officers.

Elizabeth, who had expected rapid success from the well-known valour of her favourite, was irritated by the means of these reverses. She answered his letters, detailing plans of pacification, with severe reprimands, and could with difficulty be persuaded to grant him a reinforcement. The gallant Earl's despatches evince equal benevolence and political wisdom. He earnestly presses on the cabinet the necessity of conciliation and concession, and solicits their attention to the interests of the people. The answer to all his state-papers was a peremptory order to march into the North.

While the Earl was advancing through Ulster, Sir Conyers Clifford, who led an army to his assistance, fell into an ambuscade, contrived by O'Ruarc, in Connaught, and was slain. His army suffered only a trifling loss; but the soldiers were so dispirited, that they retreated to their garrison. Essex advanced to the banks of the Blackwater; but O'Neill had, by this time, learned the character of his opponent, and determined to open a negotiation.

The Earl willingly lent an ear to the flattering and submissive messages of the crafty chief, and granted him the favour of a personal interview. The two generals led their armies to the opposite banks of the river, and then rode to a neighbouring ford. Scarcely had the feet of the Lord Lieutenant's charger touched the water, when O'Neill spurred his horse through the stream, while the water rose above his saddle, and crossed over to pay his respects. This union of a delicate compliment and generous confidence completely won the noble soul of Essex. He at once entered into an animated conversation with the Irish chieftain, and rode with him along the banks of the river in the sight of the wondering armies. Their private conference lasted a long time, and speculation has been busy in guessing at the subjects they discussed. It is probable that O'Neill, well acquainted with the intrigues of the English court, called the attention of Essex to the machinations of his enemies, and promised to assist in their overthrow. Finally, the officers of both armies were summoned, and, in their presence, O'Neill, having stated the grievances by which he was driven to revolt, proposed terms of accommodation. A truce for six weeks was established, in order to afford time for the due consideration of the several articles; and the royal army returned to their quarters in Leinster.

The indignation of Elisabeth at this strange termination of a campaign, from which she had expected so much, was violent. She wrote a severe letter to the Lord Lieutenant, reprobating his conduct in no measured terms. Essex, at first, meditated the insane project of leading the flower of his army into England, and forcing his way to the royal presence;

but, being dissuaded by his friends, he adopted a course scarcely less pernicious ; and, resigning his power to two Lords-justices, departed to England alone. The rest of his tragical story is known to the readers of English history.—We must return to the affairs of Ireland.

Ormond, who had been appointed to the command of the army, wished to maintain the peace with O'Neill ; but that chief was no longer disinclined to war. He had lately received assurances of assistance from Spain. The Pope incited him to continue steadfast in the support of the Catholic faith ; and sent him a sacred plume, which the holy father gravely asserted was composed of the feathers of a phœnix ! A war of petty skirmishes, interrupted by truces which neither party regarded, continued for some time ; and in some of these little encounters, Sir Warham Saint Leger and Sir T. Norris, the ablest of the English officers, were slain.

.. A. D. 1560.—Blount, Lord Montjoy, was appointed by the Queen to the hazardous post of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. His military skill and political knowledge were adorned by the rarer graces of literature ; and O'Neill, who regarded these accomplishments as a mark of effeminacy, is said to have expressed his pleasure at the appointment of a general, “ who would lose the season of action while his breakfast was preparing.” The chief soon learned by experience, that a taste for refinement is by no means inconsistent with the most vigorous exertion. Montjoy was assisted by several men of great abilities in the inferior departments of government, among whom the Earl of Ormond, and Sir George Carew, president of Munster, were the most conspicuous.

The war recommenced with great activity, but no decisive action was fought. O'Neill, with consummate ability, avoided every attempt to force him to a general engagement, and broke through the hostile lines when attempts were made to blockade his troops. The Lord Lieutenant suspected that some of the Irish lords secretly supplied the insurgents with information; and a strange event made him believe that Ormond was the traitor. When Sir George Carew was proceeding to his presidency in Munster, he was invited by the Earl of Ormond to attend a conference with O'Moore, who had made proposals of submission. Carew and the Earl of Thomond wished that they should be attended by a sufficient guard, but Ormond steadfastly refused to take more than seventeen. The place of meeting was in the vicinity of a wood, behind which O'Moore had stationed a numerous band, in addition to a large body of pikemen by whom he was openly escorted. During the discussion, O'Moore's followers gradually advanced, while Carew in vain warned Ormond of his danger; at length they seized the Earl, but Carew and Thomond escaped by the swiftness of their horses. Ormond was long detained a prisoner; for Montjoy rejected the terms of ransom offered by O'Moore. They were sufficiently exorbitant to justify this refusal, even if the Deputy was not secretly pleased with the removal of a nobleman whom he regarded as the rival of his power.

The system of war pursued by Montjoy and Carew, was that which had been found so efficacious in destroying the Earl of Desmond. Bribes were offered to the inferior chiefs for desertion. Rivals were encouraged to assail the claims of those tanists who still adhered to O'Neill. The houses were de-

stroyed, the corn fields consumed, fire and famine were once more brought to the aid of slaughter. Carew was more merciless in establishing this cruel system than Montjoy. He was naturally cruel and rapacious, a deliberate encourager of treachery, and not ashamed to avow and defend perfidy and assassination. When any of the insurgent leaders, broken by calamity, sued for permission to return to his allegiance, Carew granted pardon, only on the condition that the offender should prove his new zeal for the royal service by murdering a friend or relative; and this detestable practice he vindicates in his writings as wise and sound policy.

Devastation greatly reduced O'Neill's strength. His adversaries derived their supplies from England; his resources were destroyed when his own fields were wasted. Still he bravely continued the war, relying on the promised aid of the Spaniards, and stimulated by the numerous emissaries of Rome, who exhorted him to perseverance. He was besides well aware, that the late submissions to the government were hollow and insincere, especially as no provision was made for the removal of the grievances which had caused the insurrection. Grievous exactions were made from the proprietors of land. Jurors were packed in the most open and shameful manner. Innocent persons were executed sometimes without the formality of a trial, or, when that was granted, by the verdict of a tribunal whose forms were a cruel mockery. The penal laws against recusants were enforced, and English settlers drove the natives from their land without the pretence of a claim. The knowledge of these circumstances induced O'Neill to persevere, though he knew that his chances of final success were diminishing every hour with fearful rapidity. In

Munster, Sir George Carew had reduced the most powerful septs, and gained possession of the persons of several chiefs. To one of these who was loud in his professions of loyalty, Carew put the question, “What if the Spaniards should arrive?” The Irish lord candidly answered, “In that case, do not confide in me, nor in any of the lords who seem most devoted to your service.”

The long expected succours from Spain at length appeared; but the English had sufficient warning, and were prepared for their reception. The expedition was altogether the worst planned, and worst executed, ever sent by a blundering government. It had been delayed too long. Its preparation was made so openly, that one would suppose observation had been courted. It was miserable in amount; and its leader was wretchedly incompetent. Don Juan d’Aquila, to whom Philip had intrusted a small fleet and two thousand men, with the most inconceivable folly determined to land in the south of Ireland, while Tyrone, to whose assistance he had come, was shut up in the extreme north. Scarcely had he landed, when he personally insulted O’Sullivan Beare, the first toparch who offered him assistance; and thus at once disgusted the southern septs. To add to his confusion, Carew and Montjoy, having collected a powerful army, invested Kinsale, and pushed the siege with vigour.

O'Neill was not a little perplexed by the awkward situation of the Spaniards. A march through an exhausted country, in the depth of a severe winter, and with forces already disheartened by calamity, was an enterprise full of danger. On the other hand, it was clear, that Don Juan, unless speedily relieved, would be forced to surrender. The Spaniard was

already disgusted with the expedition ; and, while he answered the summons of Montjoy with ridiculous gasconade, he sent the most urgent and angry letters to O'Neill and O'Donnel, soliciting their aid. The march of the Irish army sufficiently proves the ability of the leaders, and the zeal of their followers. Notwithstanding the difficulties of the country, they advanced with their baggage and artillery at the rate of forty miles ; and, by their extraordinary celerity, baffled the Lord President, who marched to intercept them. Nearly at the time that O'Neill arrived before Kinsale, a second Spanish armament reached the Bay of Baltimore, and were enthusiastically received by the neighbouring septs. Several that had hitherto preserved their allegiance, now took up arms, and O'Neill was thus enabled to blockade the Lord Lieutenant in his camp. Montjoy's army was thus placed in a most perilous situation ; they were at once besiegers and besieged ; their supplies from the country were cut off ; and the sea, which the British fleet kept open to them, was still a precarious ground of confidence. In fact, nothing was necessary for the complete ruin of an army, on which the fate of a kingdom depended, but that Tyrone should remain quietly in the position he had selected. O'Neill knew his advantages well, and could not be tempted, by all the arts of the British leader, to quit his intrenchments ; but the presumptuous Spaniard was eager to exhibit his valour in a pitched battle. Montjoy, having discovered by his spies the feelings of Don Juan, made use of the most ingenious artifices to increase his daring. He sent pretended deserters into the town, who described the English army as reduced to a shocking state of disorganization ; and asserted, that the soldiers were so worn

down with fatigue and famine, as to be incapable of an effective resistance. Don Juan wrote the most pressing letters to O'Neill, urging him to crush the English at once, and promising to aid him by a sally from the town. O'Neill continued to refuse ; but the chiefs, by whom he was supported, joined in the solicitations of the Spaniard, and an unwilling assent was at length wrung from the gallant chieftain.

It was resolved to attack the English camp by night. The spies revealed the plan to Montjoy, and he made his preparations accordingly. The moment that O'Neill saw the English lines, he knew that he was betrayed. On the instant he determined to change his plan of action ; but his orders were misunderstood by a portion of the troops, and his lines were thus broken. The Earl of Clanricarde, and Wingfield, marshal of the horse, precipitated their cavalry through this fatal gap, and the fate of the battle was decided. O'Neill made several desperate efforts to retrieve the fortune of the day ; but he was badly seconded by the other leaders, and forced at length to fly. O'Donnel, who commanded the rear, made no attempt at resistance, but fled without striking a blow. The carnage was dreadful. No quarter was given, except to a few of the Spaniards ; and the Irish Lords who were made prisoners were hanged the morning after the action. O'Neill wished to persuade his followers to resume their former station, or to try the chances of a second battle ; but their spirits were effectually broken, and they almost unanimously resolved to return home.

Don Juan now offered to capitulate, and terms of surrender were proposed. Like a true Spaniard,

he raised numberless scruples on trifling points of etiquette, but neglected matters of greater importance. Montjoy, whose interest it was to terminate the war as speedily as possible, made some sacrifices to Castilian pride, and obtained quiet possession of the castles garrisoned by the Spaniards. O'Sullivan, an Irish chieftain of some note, was by no means satisfied with this arrangement. He turned the Spaniards out of his castle at Dunboy, garrisoned it with his own followers, and resolved on an obstinate defence. The strength of the castle severely taxed the ingenuity of the general and the valour of his soldiers. At length a lodgment was effected on the walls, but the garrison refused to yield. They fought the besiegers from room to room; and when at last driven to the cellar, the governor made a desperate, but fortunately a vain attempt, to blow up victors and vanquished, by plunging a torch into a barrel of gunpowder.

The war in Munster was now virtually over. The principal Irish Lords that escaped the sword fled to Spain, where their descendants still may be found. O'Sullivan Beare refused to become an exile; and, collecting the remnant of the southern insurgents, maintained a predatory warfare under cover of the western bogs and mountains. This hopeless contest was attended by a horrid waste of life, for both parties invariably murdered their prisoners. O'Sullivan was finally reduced to such straits by the vigour of Carew, that he resolved to force his way into Ulster, and unite his shattered troops with those of Tyrone. Carew sent a strong body of light troops to harass the fugitives; but, maddened by despair, they turned on their pursuers, and boldly gave them battle. The Irish suffered

severely in the contest ; but not a single Englishman escaped.

The war of desolation was now renewed in the north ; and O'Neill saw, every day, his bravest followers perishing by the slow and painful death of famine. His hopes from Spain were gone ; his allies were either exiles, or had purchased precarious safety by submission ; and his proud heart was humbled, by witnessing calamities which he could not avert, and misery he was unable to relieve. He offered terms of accommodation, which Montjoy as readily accepted. Elizabeth was now on her death-bed ; and the enormities which she had sanctioned in Ireland, weighed heavily on her conscience. She now endeavoured to make some tardy reparation. Orders were issued to restore Sir Finin O'Driscoll to his estate in Carbery, and to make peace with O'Neill on easy terms. As O'Driscoll did not happen to be particularly formidable, the Irish privy council first evaded, and then openly disobeyed the royal command ; but the name of O'Neill was still dreaded, and terms of peace were arranged. Before the news of this pacification could be sent to England, the intelligence of the Queen's death was received. O'Neill, on hearing of it, burst into a passion of tears. The cause he assigned for this unusual emotion, was regret for the death of a princess whose personal kindness he had requited by ingratitude. It is more probable, that he grieved for having lost the opportunity of making his return to allegiance a personal compliment to the new sovereign.

The imperfect subjugation of Ireland cost Elizabeth more than three millions Sterling, and an incalculable number of her bravest soldiers. The un-

fortunate country was reduced to a desert ; and at least one half of the population perished by famine or the sword. The submission purchased at this tremendous cost, could not be sincere or permanent ; and the system to which Elizabeth trusted for security, manifestly increased the perils of her government. To extirpate the ancient nobility, and to divide their estates among the minions of the English and Irish courts, was avowedly the object of several successive administrations ; and in pursuit of that object, the common principles of justice and humanity were flagrantly outraged. The undertakers were, in general, unprincipled adventurers, who showed no gratitude to the crown, and no mercy to the country ; they were faithless subjects and cruel masters. The great body of the peasantry hated them as intruders, and despised them as upstarts ; nor was their conduct such as to diminish either feeling. Situated as Ireland was, the ancient aristocracy might easily have been made the bond of union between the people and the sovereign. Time would have broken up overgrown estates, and the ordinary progress of events ameliorated the feudal system ; but when the nobles were sacrificed to a faction, all the links of society were broken, and government deprived of the natural means of introducing improvements. An additional danger resulted from the numbers of the Irish nobility who, when driven into exile, fled to the Continent, and obtained employment in the armies of France and Spain. They never resigned the hope of returning to their country, and recovering, in a new struggle, the estates of which they had been plundered.

The commerce and trade of the country was annihilated by these protracted contests. The finances

were so dilapidated, that they were inadequate to the ordinary expenses of the government. Elizabeth, in her distress, proceeded to debase the coin—an expedient which of course only multiplied the difficulties.

Religion could not be expected to possess much influence amid the incessant din of arms. It was, to use the language of an old divine, “in every body’s mouth, and in nobody’s heart.” Efforts were made by many partisans of the government, and by the papal emissaries, to give the struggle the character of a religious war; but they signally failed. Many of Elizabeth’s bravest soldiers were bigotted Catholics, and yet they never for a moment swerved from their allegiance. Desmond, the leader in the second great war, notoriously offered to profess the reformed religion, if his estates could be secured; and Hugh O’Neill was so openly regardless of disputed doctrines, that his profession of anxiety to defend the true faith was hailed with shouts of ridicule by all parties. “Hang thee,” said the Earl of Essex, with equal humour and truth, “thou talkest of a free exercise of religion! thou carest as much for religion as my horse!”

CHAPTER XIII.

The Reign of James I.

THE accession of James I. caused no little anxiety among all parties in Ireland. His real character was unknown to the leaders of the English interest : the Irish Catholics believed that in him they would find a patron and a friend. They argued, that the son of Mary Queen of Scots, who had died a martyr to the faith, would not long continue to support heresy ; and, acting on this mistaken notion, they forthwith, in defiance of law, proceeded to establish the public exercise of the Romish religion. The cities of Munster were the foremost in this incalculous display ; and the Lord Lieutenant immediately marched southwards to crush this dangerous spirit. When Montjoy arrived before Waterford, he was met by a deputation of the citizens, accompanied by two monks, eager to exhibit their skill in argumentative oratory. The ecclesiastics pleaded the crime of proclaiming as King an enemy to the faith. The citizens showed a charter of King John, by which Waterford was excused from quartering soldiers. Montjoy silenced the monks, by detecting them in a misquotation from St Austin ; and terrified the citizens by threatening, if the gates were not instantly opened, that “ he would cut asunder the charter of King John with the sword

"of King James!" Such reasoning was irresistible; the city at once yielded; and in a few days Clonmel and Cashel imitated the example. Cork showed rather more obstinacy; but it surrendered after a short siege, and a few of the leaders were executed.

The last act of Montjoy's government was one that confers deserved honour on his name. He published an act of general oblivion and indemnity for all offences committed before his Majesty's accession; and he received, under the protection of the British law, the whole body of the Irish peasantry, who had been hitherto left at the absolute disposal of their chieftains. Montjoy appointed Sir George Carew his deputy, and returned to England, accompanied by Hugh O'Neill and Roderick O'Donnell. The King received both the chieftains very graciously. He confirmed O'Neill in his title of Tyrone, and all his honours and estates. He revived, in favour of O'Donnell, the dormant title of Tyrconnel. The Irish Lords returned to Ireland, but were soon destined to experience, a second time, how frail a defence was afforded by the protection of the sovereign, against the inveterate hostility of the faction that monopolized the local government.

Sir Arthur Chichester, the new Lord Lieutenant, laboured strenuously to accomplish the great work of introducing the system of English law, which his predecessor had begun. The customs of tanystry and gavelkind were declared illegal; the tenures of land modelled after the English form; the division of the island into counties completed; and the circuits of the judges permanently established. Unfortunately, the good effects of these beneficial measures were more than counterbalanced by the revival of the penal code, which Sir Arthur Chichester ad-

ministered with a vigour beyond the law. The King was a vain and contemptible pedant, proud of his talents as a theologian, and seriously persuaded that his pen ought to be sufficient for the conversion of a people. Chichester, his lieutenant, was cruel and avaricious. His great anxiety was to make a fortune, and we shall soon see how perfectly he succeeded. The punishment of recusants at this time was the more strange, as James was more than suspected of a secret attachment to the Romish doctrines. It was equally impolitic and unjust, for the Irish had no choice; they must either have adopted the Catholic religion or none, as they were wholly destitute of Protestant instructors. The act of Elizabeth inflicted a pecuniary fine on recusants. Chichester added deprivation of office and imprisonment. The Catholics of the Pale humbly remonstrated against these illegal hardships. Chichester, unable to confute their arguments, sent the remonstrants to prison likewise.

In the midst of the confusion occasioned by these proceedings, the hearts of the local functionaries were delighted by the news of a PLOT. The discovery of what is usually called Gunpowder Treason, and the real nature of the conspiracy formed by Catesby, Percy and Guy Fawkes, are problems of which the solution is not yet quite complete. The accounts published by royal authority are obscure and perplexed in the extreme; the statements made by the counsel for the crown on the trials are not borne out by the evidence; and the witnesses do not seem to have been the persons who could have given the best information. Still there can be no doubt of the existence of this atrocious conspiracy, though all the details are uncertain. The account given by

Dryden of another plot, is much more applicable to this.

“ Succeeding times did equal folly call,
Believing nothing, or believing all.”

The Irish privy council felt, or pretended, a great alarm, when they received the news of the danger to which the King had been exposed. With much more reason the Catholic lords were filled with consternation; for the crime was unquestionably ascribed to all the professors of the Romish religion. A letter was dropped in the council-chamber, darkly hinting, that there was a plot formed by the Irish Catholic lords against the state. No names were mentioned, no particulars given; and yet, the local government at once fixed upon the Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnel, as the agents of this pretended conspiracy. Both these lords were certainly disengaged. They knew that they were viewed with jealousy and hostility by the officers of state; and they were conscious that they had frequently, in conversation, uttered sentiments which might easily be distorted into proofs of disaffection. They had learned, by bitter experience, in a former reign, that the Irish government was not very scrupulous in the use of means for increasing confiscations; and, as they were wholly unprepared for resistance, they fled to the Continent. Strange it is, that grave historians should quote their flight, an undeniable proof of their innocence, as an evidence of their guilt. Had any such conspiracy existed, O'Neill, who had before maintained a brave war against Elizabeth, would have been prepared with forces sufficient for his defence, and, perhaps, powerful enough to peril the security of the state. But he was totally destitute

of soldiers, money, arms, or ammunition, for he had entertained no thoughts of war. In his case, innocence was weakness, and consequently ruin. It has been asked, "why then did he not stand his trial?" He might have answered, as another unfortunate Irish exile did in a similar case, "What chance would a fat goose have before a jury of foxes?" Those who have looked into those records of guilt and oppression, the State Trials, and especially those of Ireland, will entertain no doubt of what the event would have been, if he had appeared before the royal court. The charge for hiring witnesses was long in Ireland one of the ordinary expenses of the civil government.

The name of O'Neill, was well known on the Continent; and in every European nation, the treatment he had received became a subject of reproach against England. James, in consequence, published a proclamation, unfortunately too long for insertion, as it is a curiosity in its way, stating, in general terms, the guilt of the fugitive Earls. This document, which contains nothing but vague and general charges, mixed with no small share of personal abuse, served only to prove that the King's injustice could neither be excused nor defended. Sir Cahir O'Dogherty, another chieftain of the north, took up arms under circumstances that seem to prove his insanity. He was easily crushed, and his immense estates added to the forfeitures of Tyrone and Tyrconnel.

The confiscations thus made by James, included the six counties of Tyrconnel, now called Donegal, Tyrone, Derry, Fermanagh, Cavan, and Armagh, containing more than half a million of acres. The King, without paying any regard to the rights of the occupants, determined to settle in these districts to-

tenies from England and Scotland, and to drive the actual inhabitants into the woods and mountains. This iniquitous scheme is wholly inexcusable. The Irish chiefs possessed the sovereignty, but not the property of the soil ; consequently the guilt of O'Neill and O'Donnell, though ever so clearly proved, could not affect the rights of their feudatories, who were not even accused of treason. The English law of forfeiture, in itself sufficiently unjust, never declared that the interests of innocent tenants should be sacrificed for the rebellion of the landlord ; it only placed the King in the place of him whose property had been forfeited, and left all the relations of the tenantry unaltered. Yet were all the actual holders of land in these devoted districts dispossessed without even the shadow of a pretence ; and this abominable wickedness is eulogised by many even at the present day, as the very consummation of political wisdom !

The scheme of plantation devised by James, surpassed that of his predecessor. The lands were divided into portions of two thousand, fifteen hundred, and one thousand acres, according to the capacity of the undertakers. They were bound to sublet only to English tenants ; to give these secure leases on equitable terms ; to erect houses after the English fashion ; and to adopt the English system of agriculture. They were strictly prohibited from giving land to the mere Irish, or to such persons as refused the oaths of allegiance and supremacy. The companies in the city of London obtained very large grants as undertakers ; and it is but justice to add, that their estates are, and long have been, the best managed in Ireland. Few complaints would be made of absenteeism, if the estates of all absentees were

attended with so much attention to the comforts of the country, and the general welfare of the country, as those of the London companies. In the commencement of the plantation, their conduct was, however, far different; they openly, and almost avowedly, violated every part of their contract; they acted entirely by agents, in whose selection little care was taken; and they permitted them to exhaust, in private emolument, resources of which they were slow in learning the value.

The order of baronetage was instituted by James; and this title was curiously connected with the plantation of Ulster. The number of baronets was limited to two hundred; and each who received the dignity, was forced to pay to the crown a sum sufficient to support thirty men for the space of three years, in order to defend the new settlement. The money was never applied to this purpose, but was wasted in the riotous extravagance of the royal household.

Sir Arthur Chichester, the great contriver of this extensive scheme of spoliation, received as a reward the territory of Iriskewen, and the greater part of the estates that had belonged to Sir Cahir O'Doherty. It was manifestly of importance to have this extensive transfer of property secured by legislative enactment; and, for this purpose, it was resolved to summon a parliament, for the first time during a space of twenty-seven years. There was every reason to dread that the government would encounter a vigorous opposition, if the members of the Lower House were fairly elected; for the illegal violence of Chichester, his rigorous exclusion of recusants from office, and his determination to continue the penalties for refusing to attend the established worship, had excited universal alarm among the Lords of

the Pale, as well as the native Irish. To provide against this danger, James created forty boroughs at once. *Created* is the proper term; for, in the great majority of them, it would have been difficult to discover the town or village which was thus suddenly incorporated. Even those places which had something more than nominal existence, received charters full of blunders and inconsistencies, which placed the result of the elections at the discretion of the returning officers.

A. D. 1613.—Notwithstanding all these precautions, the recusants mustered in great strength, and made a public entry into Dublin, with numerous trains of attendants and retainers. The Upper House consisted of sixteen Barons, five Viscounts, four Earls, and twenty-five spiritual Peers. As the prelates were unanimous in the support of government, and were supported by a majority of the temporal peers, the influence of the crown in the Upper House was irresistible. Parties were more nearly balanced in the House of Commons, and both eagerly embraced the first opportunity of trying their strength in the election of a speaker. The friends of the court proposed the Attorney-General, Sir John Davis; and the country party nominated Sir John Everard, a lawyer of a respectable family, and equally eminent for his ability and integrity. After a long time had been wasted in violent altercation, the courtiers called for a division. It was agreed, that the Ayes, or supporters of Davis, should go out, and the Noes remain. The votes were, for Sir John Davis 127, for Sir John Everard 97. But the election was not decided immediately by this vote. A scene took place previously, so utterly absurd, that we can with difficulty bring ourselves to believe that

any such could have taken place in a deliberative assembly. No sooner had the "Ayes" withdrawn, than the recusants voted themselves the House of Commons by acclamation, and unanimously called on Sir John Everard to take the chair. When the government party returned, they were equally surprised and indignant at the trick. They attempted to pull Everard from the chair, but, failing in this effort, they placed Sir John Davis in his lap. This only added to the confusion. A disgraceful tumult followed, which at last terminated in the retirement of the recusants, who protested against the entire constitution and proceedings of the parliament, as informal and illegal.

The recusant Lords in the Upper House imitated this example. A convention of all who had withdrawn was formed, and a deputation chosen to present a remonstrance to the King. The Lord Lieutenant, on the other hand, sent over the Earl of Thomond, the Chief-justice of the King's Bench, and the Lord Treasurer, to defend the Irish government. Both parties were heard before the King in council; and James, as might easily have been foreseen, decided in favour of his servants. He favoured the remonstrants with a lecture on the paternal kindness of his government, in his own peculiar style of eloquence; and ended with a threat of punishment for their late hardihood, and a promise of favour, if they made atonement by future submission.

The country-party, though still powerful, made no further opposition. The bill for ratifying the attainders of O'Neill, O'Donnell, and O'Dogherty, were passed unanimously, and a subsidy was granted to the King with great alacrity; for the rival fac-

friends eagerly sought to claim the exclusive merit of the grant.

The success of the northern plantation gave James a taste for confiscations, which the Irish officers of the crown were eager to encourage. All their ingenuity was not, however, equal to the invention of a new plot;—they therefore devised a scheme more certain in its effects, and more glaringly iniquitous. This was the “commission for the discovery of defective titles;” at the head of which was placed Sir William Parsons, an unprincipled adventurer, on whom craft and crime has conferred an unenviable notoriety. During the long civil wars that had devastated the island in the preceding reigns, and especially the last, property had been in a state of constant fluctuation. Deeds were lost—documents destroyed—feudal services left unperformed—and rents to the crown unpaid. By taking advantage of these circumstances, the King obtained the forfeiture of another half million of acres. A class of informers, called *Discoverers*, was regularly employed by the officers of the crown, to search out defective titles. They were rewarded by grants of concealed lands belonging to the crown; and the King was interested in their support, by the hope of an advanced rent, or a heavy composition. The united avarice and prodigality of the King thus induced him to make his administration nothing better than a system of robbery; but his officers in Ireland went far beyond their master in iniquity, and plundered with strict impartiality the loyal and the suspected, the opponents of the government, and those who had been taken under the protection of the crown.

One case may be quoted, as a specimen of Irish justice in those days. Bryan and Turlogh Byrne

were the rightful owners of a tract in Leinster, called the Ranelagh's. Its vicinity to the capital made it a desirable plunder; and accordingly Parsons, Lord Esmond, and some others, determined that it should be forfeited. The Byrnes, however, had powerful interest in England, and obtained a patent grant of their lands from the King. Parsons and Esmond were not to be disappointed so easily. They flatly refused to pass the royal grant; and, deeming the destruction of the Byrnes necessary to their safety, they had them arrested on a charge of treason. The witnesses provided to support the charge, were Duffe, whom Turlogh Byrne, as a justice of the peace, had sent to prison for cow-stealing, MacArt and MacGriffin, two notorious thieves, and a farmer named Archer. This last long resisted the attempts to force him to become a perjured witness; and his obstinacy was punished by the most horrible tortures. He was burned in the fleshy parts of the body with hot irons; placed on a gridiron over a charcoal fire; and, finally, flogged until nature could support him no longer, and he promised to swear any thing that the commissioners pleased. Bills of indictment were presented to two successive Grand Juries in the county of Carlow, and at once ignored, as the suborned witnesses were unworthy of credit, and contradicted themselves and each other. For this opposition to the will of government, the jurors were summoned to the Star-Chamber in Dublin, and heavily fined. The witnesses, MacArt and MacGriffin, being no longer useful, were given up to the vengeance of the law. They were hanged for robbery at Kilkenny; and, with their dying breath, declared the innocence of the Byrnes.

The ingenuity of Parsons and his accomplices

was not yet exhausted. The Byrnes presented themselves before the Court of King's Bench in Dublin, to answer any charge that might be brought against them. No prosecutor appeared, and yet the Chief-justice refused to grant their discharge. During two years, repeated orders were transmitted from England, directing that the Byrnes should be freed from further process, and restored to their estates; but the faction in the castle waited and disobeyed every mandate. At length, on learning that the Duke of Richmond, the generous patron of the persecuted Irishmen, was dead, it was determined by Parsons to complete the destruction of the victims. He had before been baffled by the integrity of a Grand Jury; on this occasion, he took proper precautions to prevent a similar disappointment. The bills were sent before the Grand Jurors of Wicklow, the majority of whom had obtained grants of the Byrne property, and all were intimately connected with the prosecutors. The evidence placed before this impartial body was the depositions of four criminals, who were pardoned on condition of giving evidence; but even these wretches were not brought in person before the jury. Their depositions were taken in Irish by one of the prosecutors, and translated by one of his creatures. These suspicious documents, however, proved sufficient, and the bills were found.

To procure additional evidence, it was necessary to use expedients still more atrocious. A number of persons were seized, and subjected to the mockery of trial by martial law, though the regular courts were sitting. The most horrid tortures were inflicted on those who refused to accuse the Byrnes; and some of the most obstinate were punished with death.

But the firmness of the victims presented obstacles which were not overcome, before some virtuous Englishmen represented the affair so strongly to the King that he was shamed into interference. He sent over commissioners from England to investigate the entire affair. The Byrnes were brought before them, and honourably acquitted. Their lives were thus saved ; but Parsons had previously contrived to obtain a great portion of their estates by patent, and was permitted to keep them undisturbed.

This narrative, which has been rather softened in its horrible details, may appear to many too shocking to be believed ; but all the documents connected with it are still preserved in the library of the Dublin University, and it is circumstantially related by Carte, a historian remarkable for his hostility to the Irish. Neither have the worst parts of the transaction been without a parallel in more modern times. Evidence obtained by indiscriminate torture was used, for the destruction of individuals whose political sentiments were adverse to those of the dominant faction, at a period not yet removed beyond the memory of man.

The local government of Ireland, during the remainder of this disgraceful reign, was in every respect consonant to the specimen already given. Martial law was proclaimed in times of peace ; refractory witnesses were tortured ; obstinate jurors fined and imprisoned ; the ecclesiastical courts became instruments of intolerable oppression ; the judges of the land were cruel, venal, and profligate. Peculation pervaded every office of the state ; the army mouldered away, for the commanders were members of the privy council, and voted themselves the pay for full companies, while the number of

soldiers actually employed scarcely exceeded one-third of those entered on the returns; and such was the extent of public plunder, that the annual charge of the government exceeded by sixteen thousand pounds the annual revenue of the kingdom.

The rapacity of the discoverers, and the avarice of the monarch, was still unsatisfied; and a new scheme of confiscation was devised, which, if put into execution, would have forfeited the entire province of Connaught. During the reign of Elizabeth, the lords and gentry of this province had surrendered their lands to Sir John Perrot, and received them back as grants from the Queen. Having neglected the enrolment of their patents, they again surrendered them to James, and paid a sum of three thousand pounds to have them enrolled. The officers of the Court of Chancery, from negligence or some other more culpable motive, omitted this form; and the King, at the close of his reign, prepared to take advantage of this clerical error, and seize on Connaught as he had on Ulster. The proprietors were filled with consternation at this alarming project, and immediately prepared to avert the blow. They knew that it would be useless to appeal to the King's justice, his honour, or his humanity; but they were aware that he was greedy and necessitous, and therefore tendered him a bribe of ten thousand pounds. While James hesitated between the temptation of this sum in hand, and a larger in prospect, he was seized with mortal illness, and died, bequeathing to his son three kingdoms filled with internal discord, and involved in external wars, from which neither honour nor profit could be derived.

CHAPTER XIV.

From the Accession of Charles I. to the Commencement of the great Civil War in Ulster.

THERE never was a time in which the spirit of religious fanaticism was more fierce and intolerant, than the period to which we have now arrived. In England and Scotland, the Episcopahians and the Puritans were violently opposed; in Ireland, the Protestant and Catholic interests were guided by the fiercest animosity. The Catholics received, with the utmost reverence, a bull from Pope Urban VIII., in which his Holiness asserted, that the oath of supremacy "wrested the sceptre of the Catholic church from the hand of the Almighty." The Protestant Prelates, headed by Archbishop Usher, published a declaration, stating, that those who tolerated Popery "were " guilty of a grievous sin, and rendered themselves accessory to idolatry, abomination, and the perdition of souls, which perished in the deluge of Catholic apostasy." The political condition of Ireland was still more perplexing. The faction which had hitherto ruled the country had squandered the revenue, neglected the defences, and exhausted the resources of the nation. In Ulster, the original inhabitants, deprived of their lands, supported a miserable existence in mountains and remote districts, wait-

ing patiently for a favourable time, when the possessions of which they had been despoiled might be recovered. The unprincipled attempt of the late King to seize on all the lands in Connaught, spread great alarm among all the old proprietors of Irish estates. There was no tenure sufficiently secure to resist the acts of the discoverers, especially when the officers of state and the judges of the realm had joined in their alliance. Much, however, was to be hoped from a new sovereign; and the Catholic recusants, then forming an overwhelming majority of the Irish proprietary, joined by several Protestants of rank, held a meeting in Dublin to propose measures for tranquillising the country.

A. D. 1628.—The entire proceedings of this assembly were marked by wisdom and moderation. They drew up a number of articles in the nature of a Bill of Rights, to which they humbly solicited the Royal assent, and promised that, on their being granted, they would raise a voluntary assessment of one hundred thousand pounds for the use of the crown. The principal articles in these Graces, as they are called, were provisions for the security of property, the due administration of justice, the prevention of military exactions, the freedom of trade, the better regulation of the clergy, and the restraining* of the ty-

* The wording of this clause proves, that however the established clergy of the day may have neglected their spiritual duties, they took care of their temporal concerns. It runs thus: "That no extraordinary warrants of assistance, touching clandestine marriages, christenings, or burials, or any contumacies pretended against ecclesiastical jurisdiction, are to be issued or executed by any chief governor; nor are the clergy to be permitted to keep any private prisons of their own for their own causes; but delinquents in that kind are henceforth to be committed to the king's public goals and by the king's officers."

ranny of the ecclesiastical courts. Finally, they provided, that the Scots who had been planted in Ulster should be secured in their possessions, and a general pardon granted for all offences.

It is manifest, that these articles were not only founded in equity, but in policy; that they were well calculated to tranquillize the nation, by securing the blessings of good government; and that a sovereign, possessing the least spark of wisdom or beneficence, ought gladly to have seized so splendid an opportunity of restoring peace and prosperity to his distracted subjects. It is but just to add, that Charles seemed impressed by the reasonableness of the proposals made by his Irish subjects; his heart was not naturally bad, but he was weak and wavering. A clamour was raised by the faction of the ascendancy in Ireland, and echoed by the Puritans in England, that these Graces were exclusively designed for the benefit of the Catholics; Charles became alarmed, and in an evil hour yielded to the treacherous advice of Strafford. With detestable duplicity he accepted the proffered money, while he secretly resolved that the promised Graces should never be granted. A technical informality in the writs for summoning parliament, served as an excuse for delaying the Graces during the administration of Lord Falkland. When he departed, the sword was committed to two Lords-justices, Loftus the Chancellor, and Richard Earl of Cork. They were said to be disinclined to concession, and their unwillingness was made a pretence for further delay. At length the government was transferred to Thomas Viscount Wentworth, better known by his subsequent title of Earl of Strafford, who voluntarily took upon himself the odium of refusing them altogether.

The administration of the Earl of Strafford forms an important era in the history of Ireland. He came over at the moment of a crisis which was to determine whether the country was to enjoy peace and prosperity, or be subjected to a new course of discord and calamity. Through ignorance rather than design, he adopted a system which inevitably led to the latter, and involved himself and his master in the general ruin. His character has often been the theme of unmeasured eulogy, and equally extravagant vituperation, because he was himself great in his qualities both of good and evil. While, however, in England some are found to advocate the cause of this unfortunate statesman, his name is at this hour intensely detested in Ireland. There is not a peasant who passes the ruins of the magnificent edifice which he began to erect near Naas, that does not vent an execration against "Black Tom," the tyrant and persecutor. The traditions respecting his violence and oppression, contain the most exaggerated tales of cruelty, bloodshed and robbery, more like the anecdotes of a leader of banditti in the eleventh century, than of a civil governor in the seventeenth. The Catholics, whom he certainly outraged, by persuading the King to break his promise solemnly plighted, and the puritanical Protestants, whose party he detested, have both combined to blacken his memory, as they both joined to destroy his life. His very virtues have been tortured into crimes; the benefits which he unquestionably laboured to confer, represented as instances of malignity and hate. It is impossible to deny that his government was the great source of that terrible flood of evil which soon after overwhelmed the land; but the character of an action is not always to be deter-

united by its consequences. Strafford must not be condemned, because that circumstances, which he could not have foreseen, made his best measures productive of nought but evil. His history should be a warning to those statesmen who scruple not to use bad means for the accomplishment of a good purpose: they may, like him, be hurried away before their labour is accomplished; and the evil means falling into less pure and less able hands, may be directed to work incalculable mischief.

Strafford had heard that Ireland was turbulent and disaffected. He regarded it as a conquered country, whose inhabitants possessed no civil rights but by the mercy of the crown. He therefore resolved to make the sternest despotism the principle of his government, and to admit of no opposition to his imperious will. He avowed and defended these sentiments on his trial, when he was accused of endeavouring to make the King absolute in Ireland, preparatory to a similar attempt in England; and there can be no doubt that he conceived himself fully justified in his opinions. He was also prepossessed against all the leading men of Ireland, but more especially against the best and most truly patriotic nobleman of the day, Richard Earl of Cork. Originally a cadet in the army of Elizabeth, Richard Boyle had risen to fame and fortune by honourable services. A fortunate marriage, and the purchase of the grants made to Sir Walter Raleigh, gave him extensive estates in the south of Ireland. These he diligently improved, by introducing English Protestants, by encouraging manufactures, and by erecting useful public works at his own expense. While he thus permanently benefited the country, he extended his own resources; but there was no foul blot on

his character: he had not trafficked in plots, nor traded in confiscations, but ever acted consistently with the principle expressed in his motto, "God's providence is my inheritance." Schools and alms-houses, which he erected in his towns of Youghal, Lismore, and Bandon, still testify his benevolence; and the crimes which led to the extensive confiscations in the reign of Elizabeth, would have been forgiven, and perhaps forgotten, if all the new proprietors had acted as well, and as wisely, as Richard Earl of Cork.

The Earl of Strafford, not contented with denying the promised Graces, prepared to execute the project of a new plantation in Connaught, which James had planned. His proceedings, in this undertaking, were characterized by more than ordinary vigour, and by more open violations of justice than had been expected. His own letters inform us of the preliminaries which he deemed necessary before entering on a judicial investigation of the King's title to the estates in the west of Ireland. "He took with him to each town where an inquisition was held, five hundred horsemen, as *good lookers-on*. He *treated* with such persons as might give furtherance in finding for the King. He inquired out *fit* men to serve upon juries. He obtained a grant of four shillings in the pound out of the first year's rent of every estate, vested in the Crown by these inquisitions, to the Lord Chief-Justice and the Chief Baron." In Leitrim, Roscommon, Mayo, and Sligo, these precautions were found effective: the juries in every instance found a verdict for the Crown. In Galway, however, the jurors, trusting that they would be supported by the influence of the Earl of Clanricarde, ventured to give a contrary verdict. The irritated Lord Lieutenant immediately

fined the Sheriff a thousand pounds for returning an improper jury, and bound over the jurors to answer for themselves before the Star-Chamber.

The compositions which the Lord Lieutenant extorted from those who had neglected the conditions of their grants, were exorbitant in the extreme. He compelled the O'Byrnes to pay seventeen thousand pounds to remedy a pretended defect of title, and extorted no less than seventy thousand from the London Companies that had obtained estates in Ulster. This latter circumstance added, in no small degree, to the popular clamour which had been raised in England against the pride and tyranny of Strafford. Indeed, it was probably one of the principal causes of his ruin; for thenceforward the citizens of London became his deadly enemies, and exerted all their influence to procure his destruction.

The conduct pursued by the haughty governor towards the Irish nobility was incredibly rigorous. Lord Wilmot and the Earl of Cork were fined for alleged usurpations of property. The Earl of Kildare was sent to prison; but the amazing severity shown to Lord Mountnorris, transcended all the others so much, that the outcry was general throughout England and Ireland.

Sir Francis Annesley, afterwards created Lord Mountnorris, was one of the few adventurers, in the reigns of Elizabeth and James, that amassed a fortune by honourable means. He was a pattern of integrity, and was particularly remarkable for the rare virtue of doing justice to the native Irish. He was the principal means of rescuing the O'Byrnes from the machinations of Parsons and Esmond, and had, on several occasions, come forward as the advocate of the innocent and the oppressed. His stern in-

dependence was displeasing to Strafford, who took every opportunity of mortifying him in the official situation which he held, that of Vice-treasurer. Mountnorris suppressed his resentment; but as he had cause to be offended, it was, of course, concluded that he cherished some secret hostility; and he was closely watched by the spies of the government.

At a dinner given by the Lord Chancellor, it was casually observed by one of the guests, that Strafford had been much provoked by a domestic, who had hurt his gouty foot while removing a stool. This domestic had formerly been insulted by the chief governor; in reference to which, Mountnorris observed, that he had probably acted by design; "but," added he, "the gentleman has a brother, who would not have taken such a revenge." For this very innocent remark, Mountnorris was arrested, and brought to trial before a court-martial, over which Strafford presided in person. The pretence for this species of trial was, that Mountnorris commanded a company in the royal army, and that the words which he uttered were mutiny. The proceedings of the court were brief and decided. Mountnorris was found guilty of "impeaching the obeying his general," and sentenced to military execution. The infamy of this transaction is not lessened, by the sentence not having been put in force. The fact, that a nobleman was subjected to a long and tedious imprisonment, to every indignity which the insolence of office could dictate, and to the mortification of an ignominious sentence, for an innocent remark, made in the midst of conviviality, cannot be extenuated, because a tardy pardon was wrung from the reluctant shame of his bitter persecutors.

The general administration of Strafford, though

criminal in the extreme, possessed merits of a superior order, though not sufficient to redeem its guilt. He laboured successfully to improve the character of the established church, by raising the qualifications of the clergy. He exacted from the rectors and curates a stricter attention to their parochial duties than they had previously bestowed, and rewarded them by restoring to the church a large portion of ecclesiastical revenue, which had been illegally seized by the aristocracy. In enforcing the penal laws, Strafford showed so much moderation, that he was accused by the Puritans of encouraging Popery; but this was in some degree counterbalanced, by his attack on the proprietors of Connaught. The scheme of a western plantation, which he had matured at the expense of so much guilt, was finally laid aside, in consequence of the universal outcry raised against such monstrous iniquity. The greatest blessing that Strafford conferred on Ireland, was the establishment of the linen manufactory, long afterwards the staple manufacture of the country. It must, however, be added, that he also successfully laboured to destroy the manufacture of cloths, which was beginning to flourish, fearing that the Irish, having wool cheaper, would rival the trade of England. This was, however, the political economy of his day, and has not wanted advocates and imitators in more enlightened periods.

The trade and commerce of Ireland increased rapidly under the firm and vigorous government of Strafford. The revenue improved with amazing rapidity; and the Exchequer, exhausted at his arrival, was full when he departed. The army, which had fallen into a shocking state of disorganization, was, by his exertion, made available for the support of the government and the defence of the country.

The revolt of his Scottish subjects compelled Charles to recall the ablest of his ministers from the government of Ireland. Before Strafford departed, he obtained the vote of a large subsidy from the Irish Parliament, which was declared to be an act of gratitude for the benefits that the country had received from the wise administration of the Lord Lieutenant. In a few months after his departure, the vote for the subsidy was virtually rescinded, and Strafford was impeached by the very parliament that had lately loaded him with fulsome adulation. Wandesford, whom Strafford had left in Ireland as his deputy, died of a broken heart, in consequence of the vexations to which he was subjected by the Recusants and Puritans, who had suddenly formed an alliance against the government.

The unfortunate monarch was now in the beginning of those troubles that afterwards deprived him of his life and crown. He knew that the Puritans were his most zealous enemies ; and yet, at this critical moment, he intrusted the government of Ireland to Parsons and Borlase, men completely at the disposal of the English parliament. We have already given some account of the conduct of Parsons in his office of commissioner of forfeitures. It is only necessary to add, that he professed the most rigid principles of Puritanism, and veiled his insatiable rapacity under the cloak of affected sanctity. His colleague, Sir John Borlase, was a mere soldier. He had received little or no education ; his understanding was mean and contemptible ; and he had imbibed all the prejudices and all the ferocity which distinguished the violent factions of that unhappy period. Borlase was governed by his wily colleague ; and both immediately joined in employ-

ing all their power to oppose the interests, and thwart the wishes of their sovereign. They aided the parliament in preventing the levies which the King of Spain wished to make in Ireland, and thus kept in the country those men whom ambition, when left ungratified by military fame abroad, urged to seek distinction by civil war at home. They, however, soon found that the Irish parliament, having thrown off its customary submission to the crown, began to lose its respect for the delegated authority of Lords-justices; and they therefore put an end to the session by prorogation.

The disputes between the King and his subjects in Britain, were daily becoming more alarming; and the Irish exiles in every part of Europe began to contemplate an attempt to recover the property of which they had been deprived. The Irish of Ulster were notoriously eager to engage in any enterprise which would afford a promise of redeeming their wrongs. The people of Connaught, threatened with confiscation, were looking to arms as their best defence. The Recusants, dreading the intolerance of the Puritans, contemplated a struggle which could not be far distant. From the very beginning of the year 1641, it must have been evident to an accurate observer, that some commotion was near at hand; but the Lords-justices were blind to approaching danger. They thought that the Irish, having been so long used to tyranny and oppression, would not make any defence for their religion and property, both of which were openly threatened by the government; and they persevered in this state of fallacious security, until they had well nigh been made the victims of their folly.

CHAPTER XV.

The War of 1641 in Ulster.

We are now about to enter on the history of a period whose strange vicissitudes, extraordinary chances, and dreadful calamities, are unequalled in the annals of any age or nation. The great civil war of 1641 presented the novel spectacle of four armies, animated by mutual hatred, wasting the country in desultory warfare, and exhausting themselves by insincere negotiations, until at length that which was infinitely the weakest triumphed, and consigned the rest to hopeless ruin. The native Irish, the confederates or Catholics of the Pale, and the Royalists, had common interests and common enemies, yet they could never be induced to form a sincere union; and the Parliamentarians, almost without an effort, conquered all three, though inferior in strength and numbers to each separately. The three defeated parties threw the blame of their ruin on each other; the victors libelled all; and thus every narrative of these transactions is full of the grossest misrepresentations to such an extent, that, in many instances, the truth cannot be discovered with any certainty. In such circumstances, the historian has a right to claim the indulgence of his readers, if, in some instances, his

account be found to contradict ancient prejudices, and to differ very materially from statements so often repeated, that they have almost received the authority of axioms.

There has been no little confusion introduced into former histories of this eventful period, by the authors having neglected to distinguish between the *causes* and the *occasions* of the war. Most writers have argued, that there could have been little cause of complaint against the government, when the tranquillity of the country had remained undisturbed for nearly half a century ; forgetting that every insurrection which tyranny has provoked, broke out only when circumstances seemed favourable to the hopes of redress. The materials of a conflagration may be for years accumulating, but the presence of a torch is necessary to the bursting forth of the flame.

The plantation in Ulster, and the menace of similar spoliation in Connaught, completely and justly alienated the minds of the native Irish from the government. They believed that a determination had been taken to strip them of all their property, by a mixture of violence and chicanery ; and the conduct of the King and his ministers proved that they were not mistaken. In fact, the Royalists and the Parliamentarians in England, distinctly avowed their fixed resolution to colonize Ireland with *good* subjects ; and opposed as they were in every thing else, Charles and the Commons showed wondrous unanimity in devising plans for fresh confiscations. The virulent declarations of the English parliament against Popery were justly alarming to the Irish Catholics ; and the shameful execution, or rather judicial murder, of several priests in London, for the offence of saying mass, showed that the persecution threatened by the

Furitans; would not long be confined to pecuniary penalties and disqualifications. The sin of tolerating Popery was a favourite theme with the Irish clergy of the established and Scottish church. Similar denunciations had been made even in the Irish Parliament, and were only suppressed when the aid of the Recusants was required to complete the ruin of Strafford. The character of Parsons was a third cause of the rancorous hostility to government which was generally prevalent among the Irish. The appointment of such a man to the office of Lord Justice, was felt to be a direct sanction of the principles on which he acted. The tragedy of the O'Byrnes was too enormous and too recent to be forgotten. There was every reason to expect that spoliation, and not protection, would be the chief object of an administration, at the head of which was a wicked and unprincipled adventurer.

The successful resistance of the Scotch, was the occasion of which the Irish lords determined to avail themselves. The attempt of the King to impose his religion and an arbitrary government on his countrymen, had been signally defeated. The rebellion, if so it must be termed, of the Scotch, had been rewarded by the establishment of the religion of their choice, the security of constitutional freedom, and the general approbation of the English people. The flame of insurrection easily spreads from one country to another. We have ourselves witnessed countless examples of the contagion of revolution. It is no wonder then that the Irish, who had suffered under severer wrongs, and had far greater grievances to redress, should have resolved to emulate the successful revolt of their brethren in Scotland.

The chief heads of the Irish conspiracy were descended from those ancient families that had been robbed of their hereditary estates in former reigns. O'Neill, the son of the deceased Earl of Tyrone, who held an important command in the service of Spain, and Roger Moore, a descendant of the old Lords of Leix, appear to have been, if not the contrivers of the conspiracy, at least the principal agents in bringing it to maturity. Moore was the darling of his countrymen. He united the generous and liberal disposition of the ancient chieftain, to the high and lofty principles of chivalry, which had not yet been totally extinguished in southern Europe. Ardent, enthusiastic, and daring, he resembled a hero of romance, rather than the leader of an insurrection; but these shining qualities were at that crisis less valuable than political wisdom; and of this Moore possessed a very small share. The multitude were so taken with the brilliant accomplishments of their favourite, that it was a common expression amongst them, "*God and our Lady be our help, and Roger Moore.*" The plan of revolt was sanctioned by Cardinal Richelieu, and by several Catholic potentates, principally through the influence of young O'Neill; and the death of that able young man by assassination, was the principal cause of the irregularity which soon appeared in the counsels of the other conspirators.

In fact, the whole of the plan was made known to the Lords Justices from a very early period. They were warned from England, that numbers of Irish officers had quitted the Continental armies to return home; that ecclesiastical emissaries were flocking to Ireland; and, at the same time, information was brought, that suspicious assemblages were frequently

held at the houses of the Catholic lords. But Parsons looked forward to a rebellion as his harvest. He had already gained a large fortune by trading in confiscations ; and he trusted that a new insurrection would place at his disposal more estates than even Strafford had ventured to contemplate. In fact, as Sir William Petty judiciously observes, there was now a great game to be played for the estates of the Irish proprietors. He adds—“ But upon so great odds the English won, and have, among and besides other pretences, a gamester’s right at least to their estates ; but as for the bloodshed in the contest, God alone knows who did occasion it.”

On the 22d of October 1641, at a late hour in the evening, Parsons received information from a gentleman named Owen Conolly, that a conspiracy had been formed for seizing the Castle of Dublin, and all the strong places in the kingdom, on the next day. He said, that he had been invited to join in the plot by MacMahon, a grandson of the great Earl of Tyrone ; and that he had, with difficulty, made his escape from that gentleman’s house, to convey the information to government. Parsons paid very little attention to the detail. He desired Conolly to return to MacMahon, and endeavour to learn further particulars. Berlase, on hearing the account, was more alarmed than his colleague. He immediately directed the council to be summoned, and instant search to be made for Conolly, who was found wandering in the streets. The delay and indecision of the justices gave the principal leaders time to escape ; but MacMahon and Lord MacGuire were taken, and, being examined before the Privy Council, fully confirmed all Conolly’s statements.

The war commenced in the north. The peasant-

ry that had been so cruelly driven from their lands; rushed down from their mountains, and swept over the English plantations. There was little or no resistance made. The astonished settlers fled every where before the original proprietors; and the roads leading to Dublin were filled with miserable crowds, driven from the lands which they had so long cultivated. At first, the Irish were contented with merely expelling the intruders; but a mob soon adds cruelty to violence, and, in several instances, the English were injured, and even murdered. Sir Phelim O'Neill, who headed the insurrection in Ulster, was a man of mean capacity, unimproved by education. He could not even, if he was inclined, restrain the excesses of his followers; but he seems not to have made an effort. The English and Scotch settlers retorted these outrages; and, whenever they had an opportunity, massacred the Irish without mercy, or distinction of sex or age. These cruelties, however, have been scandalously exaggerated by the writers on both sides. After a very careful examination of all the statements, the present writer believes, that the number of persons killed by the insurgents was less than five thousand; and that about an equal number was slain by their opponents. The great majority of the Irish gentry invariably made every exertion to restrain the ferocity of their followers; but the officers of the government, both by precept and example, recommended cruelty and extermination.

In the county of Cavan, little or no blood was shed. This was partly owing to the exertions of Philip O'Reilly, the head of his illustrious family; and partly to the respect which the Irish had for the character of Bedell, bishop of Kilmore. Bedell was

one of the very few prelates of the established church who regarded the people as the principal objects of his charge. He was deeply impressed with the necessity of winning the affections of his flock, and anxious to redeem the establishment from the opprobrium of being a church without a congregation. For this purpose, he procured a translation of the Bible into Irish, and circulated copies at his own expense. The apostolical simplicity of his character, his affectionate manners, and his pure zeal, attached to him the hearts of the lower ranks; and even the Romish clergy regarded him with esteem and admiration. His house was the place of refuge for all the English who had been driven from lands in the neighbourhood, and there they long continued unmolested, protected by the general respect felt for the Bishop. He was subsequently removed to the quarters of the army; but continued to be treated as a companion, rather than a prisoner. So convinced was this pious man of the justice of the Irish cause, that he drew up the remonstrance which they transmitted to the Castle, in justification of their having taken up arms. During his illness, he was attended with the greatest care, and his dying moments were soothed by every attention which ardent attachment could dictate. He was interred with military honours by the Irish soldiers, who had no better way of showing respect to his remains; and, when the grave closed over him, all joined in the simple prayer, "Requiescat in pace, ultimus Anglorum!"

So far were the Irish leaders from aiming at establishing the independence of their country, that Sir Phelim O'Neill actually pretended that he was in arms for the King, and produced a forged commission as his authority. The character of the un-

happy Charles is, unfortunately, too notorious for treachery and duplicity, to render it wholly incredible that he would have countenanced the insurgents. But, the dying declaration of O'Neill exonerates him in this instance, since that chieftain might have saved his life, if he had consented to confirm this calumny against his sovereign.

The Lords-justices, in the meantime, took proper precautions to ensure their personal safety, and then directed their attention, not to the suppression of the insurrection, but to the discovery of the means by which they could prolong the struggle, and derive advantages from its continuance. Their great object was, by some means, to bring in the Catholic Lords of the Pale, as participants; for their great estates had remained untouched in former struggles, and were, from their vicinity to the capital, particularly desirable to the creatures of government. The Lords-justices issued a proclamation, declaring, that the Irish Papists had formed a dangerous conspiracy against the state. The Lords of the Pale were justly alarmed at the sweeping generality of the phrase "Irish Papists;" they remonstrated, and the Justices were obliged to publish a second proclamation, exonerating the Catholic Lords of English descent. At the same time, they transmitted to the King, who was then in Scotland, and to the English parliament, an account of the dangerous insurrection which had taken place. It is remarkable, that neither in their proclamations, nor in the despatches sent over to the King and parliament, do the Lords-Justices say one word about the horrible massacres which subsequent authors have detailed; a clear proof that none such had taken place. Yet, the Earl of Leicester, in his address to the British House of Commons, unhesi-

tingly asserted, that the object of the Irish, was the general massacre of the Protestants ! The historian, Warner, deems this unwarrantable assertion of the Earl quite unaccountable. But it was manifestly intended to increase the hatred of Popery, which the parliament had already found to be a formidable instrument for extending their influence, and diminishing that of the King.

Charles at once saw the dangers to which he was exposed by the Irish insurrection, in causing which, his own perfidious conduct respecting the Graces had so large a share. He felt convinced that the Irish were more " sinned against than sinning." But the time when he could have done justice was passed ; avarice and prejudice both stimulated the parliament of England and Scotland, to seize on Irish property, and destroy Irish popery. The King was forced to go with the current, and to issue a proclamation, denouncing the Irish insurgents as rebels.

The men of property in Ulster were anxious to avoid the hazards of war, and were also shocked at the cruelties which began to be committed by infi- riate leaders on both sides. They made offers to the government of accommodation, on terms remarkable for moderation and equity. The O'Ferralls of Longford, who had suffered severely at the time of the Ulster plantation, though their sept had been conspicuous for loyalty, after having, without violence, seized the forts and castles in their county, sent a remonstrance to be presented to the King and his ministers by Lord Dillon. Their petition begins with setting forth an oath of allegiance which they had taken, and which they profess themselves willing to seal with their blood. They complain of the

persecution of their religion, the insecurity of their property by the delay of the Graces, and their being treated as aliens in their native land. They petition for a general amnesty for all offences except murder; for a repeal of the penal laws; and for a general charter of freedom to all Irish subjects.

There were many, both in England and Ireland, anxious to restore tranquillity on these conditions; and the King's friends especially, foreseeing the struggle impending between him and his parliament, were eager to terminate transactions which in every way threatened his ruin. The English parliament had at once undertaken the management of the Irish war; and, with a complete disregard of the royal prerogative, had begun to levy an army, and to provide munitions of war. The leaders of the popular party in the long parliament were the great founders of liberty in Europe. Their names will be honoured by remote posterity, for their noble resistance to arbitrary government. It is, therefore, with feelings of deep regret, we feel ourselves compelled to record the duplicity with which they acted upon this memorable occasion. While they affected the most ardent zeal for the cause of the Irish Protestants, and sent them the most magnificent promises of assistance, they kept the supplies which they had collected, and the army which they had assembled, to overawe their sovereign in England. It was then, and long after, the fashion to look upon the Irish with contempt. It was supposed, that an Irish insurrection could be suppressed at any time by a vigorous effort. While, therefore, the English parliament promised speedy exertion, the leaders were determined to secure England first, and leave Ireland for a more convenient season.

The conduct of the Lords-justices fully proved the justice of the suspicions with which they were viewed by the Irish Lords. So far from exerting themselves to check the progress of revolt, they used all their influence to discourage the efforts of others. The Earl of Ormond and some other Lords offered to join the forces of government with their adherents, and, marching directly against the insurgents, crush their undisciplined forces; but these offers were peremptorily rejected. Their military operations were confined to sending out Sir Charles Coote, a monster of cruelty, to lay waste the country; and he, with little scruple, massacred indiscriminately the loyal and the disaffected—a system which, as had probably been foreseen, rendered the spirit of revolt more general and more inveterate. The designs of Parsons were more signally displayed in another instance. Both the King and the British parliament had directed that a proclamation should be issued, offering pardon to all who would return to their allegiance. After a long delay, the Lords-justices did indeed issue such a proclamation; but clogged with so many exceptions, that it was wholly nugatory. It was limited to four counties, in two of which there had not been even the slightest symptom of revolt; and, in the others, all were excepted who had shed blood in any action, who were imprisoned for spoil or robbery, or who possessed freehold property. Finally, the time for receiving submissions was limited to ten days; and it was declared, that the amnesty would be invalid, unless a complete restitution of property was effected within that period.—a condition which manifestly could not be fulfilled.

The hopes of the nation were now fixed on the

meeting of parliament, which had been adjourned to November ; but Parsons, dreading that this assembly would be disposed to offer terms of pacification, adjourned the meeting to the 24th of February. The true friends of the King and the country were opposed to this strange proceeding ; but all arguments of justice and policy were disregarded by their governors. The arguments of the lawyers, however, produced a better effect. They averred, that such a prorogation would be tantamount to a dissolution ; and their opinions being supported by the judges, Parsons and Borlase were with difficulty persuaded to allow parliament to meet for one day.

The session lasted two days, during which a protestation against those who had taken arms was passed ; but not without considerable opposition. A large minority refused to stigmatize the insurgents as *rebels*, preferring the milder and more appropriate phrase, *discontented gentlemen* ; but the influence of the government secured the insertion of the harsher epithet. The justices, however, were unable to prevent the appointment of a committee of both Houses, to confer with the leaders of the insurgents, and to lay their complaints and grievances before the King and Council. Alarmed at this appearance of concession, the Justices, in spite of every remonstrance, prorogued the parliament.

The King's friends and the moderate party did not yet despair ; they made two efforts to avert the horrors of a general war, and in both were unfortunately unsuccessful. The deputation sent to the leaders of the insurgents was received with every demonstration of respect ; but when they produced the order of the two Houses, in which these gentlemen were stigmatized as traitors, Roger Moore seized the

insulting document, and, tearing it in pieces, haughtily declined any further conference. In the mean time, a great number of members of the Irish parliament met privately in Dublin, and deputed two of their number, Lord Dillon and Lord Taaffe, to go over to England and represent to the King the real condition of the country, the conduct of the Lords-justices, and the beneficial consequences that would result from transferring their power to the Earl of Ormond, or any other nobleman of approved loyalty and integrity. This salutary measure was also defeated by the contrivance of Parsons. He sent a private message to the leaders of the English House of Commons, desiring that no attention should be paid to the representations of Lord Dillon, declaring that his schemes would prevent the perfect establishment of English ascendancy in Ireland. This was decisive ; Lords Dillon and Taafe, having been delayed by a storm which drove them on the coast of Scotland, did not arrive until measures had been taken to destroy all chance of their success. They were arrested near London by order of the House of Commons, and detained in prison, from whence they were not liberated until all negotiation was fruitless.

From October until the middle of December, the insurrection had been confined to Ulster, a small part of Leinster, and one county in Connaught. The Catholic Lords of the Pale, preserving their ancient jealousy of the native Irish, persevered in their allegiance, and offered their assistance to government. Some had even distinguished themselves against the northerns in the field, especially Sir Robert Talbot, whose castle was destroyed in re-

venge by the insurgents. The Lords-justices, deeming the aid of these Catholic Lords necessary to their own security, had, in the first instance, supplied them with arms to defend themselves against the northern Irish ; but being now encouraged by promises of large armaments from England, they recalled the arms which they had granted, and issued a proclamation, ordering those who had fled to Dublin for protection to quit the city within twenty-four hours, under pain of death. Exposed thus to the vengeance of the insurgents on one hand, and to the persecution of the government on the other, these devoted men long struggled to preserve their loyalty ; but at length they received certain intelligence, that the English parliament and Irish government had determined on their ruin, and that their only hope of safety was in arms. In fact, on the 8th of December 1641, it was resolved, on solemn debate by both Houses of Parliament in England, " that they would not consent to the toleration of Popery in Ireland, or any of his Majesty's dominions ; " — a resolution which was virtually a declaration of a war of extermination against seven-eighths of the landed proprietors in Ireland, and almost the entire of the lower orders. Under these circumstances, Lord Gormanstown and several others proposed a conference with Moore ; and the war which had been hitherto confined to the northern province, became general through the entire country.

Before entering on the history of the new war, it may be permitted us to take a brief retrospect, especially as the incidents of the two months which we have been contemplating, have been so often and so foully misrepresented. The Irish massacre in 1641

has been a phrase so often repeated even in books of education, that one can scarcely conceal his surprise, when he learns that the tale is as apocryphal as the wildest fiction of romance. No mention is made of these extensive murders in any of the proclamations issued by the Lords-justices, even so late as the 23d of December ; and truly, the character of Parsons does not induce us to believe that he would have suppressed any thing likely to make his adversaries odious. The protestation of the Irish parliament is equally silent on the subject ; nor does any state paper of the local government afford the slightest ground for the charge. Stories of massacre and horrid cruelty were indeed studiously circulated in England, because it was the interest of the patriot party in parliament to propagate such delusions. They increased the popular hatred of Popery, and rendered the King's suspected attachment to that religion more generally odious ; and they afforded a pretence for assembling an army, on whose officers and soldiers the parliament could rely. When, at a later period, it became necessary to excuse the monstrous iniquity of the act of settlement, advantage was taken of the general belief in this unfounded calumny, to justify an instance of royal ingratitude and shameless injustice not to be paralleled even in the dark annals of the Stuarts.

The accounts published by the Catholics on the Continent are full of misrepresentations almost equally glaring. If one side avers that there was a conspiracy for the universal slaughter of the Protestants, the others, with similar falsehood, accuse the professors of the reformed religion, of designing the extermination of the Papists. If one exaggerates the

murders and cruelties perpetrated by O'Neill and his savage mob, the other adds to the excesses committed by the Scotch in the island of Magee, and by Coote at Santry and Clontarf, in the same proportion. There were doubtless many disgraceful atrocities on both sides ; but are they not inseparable from civil war ? These crimes were owing to the wickedness of particular men. We wish neither to palliate nor disguise them ; but they were disapproved of by the leaders on both sides ; and it is but fair to add, that all atrocities were not only discouraged, but punished by the Catholic nobility and gentry. It is equally wicked and foolish to make these sad events the subject of charge against sects and parties at the present day. This was a war for property, rather than religion. The northern Irish wished to recover their estates ; Parsons and his supporters desired to enrich themselves by new confiscations. Both employed the sacred name of the Deity to cover their real designs ; but assuredly religious principle of any kind had little influence on either. The present generation is not answerable for the crimes and follies of those which have preceded. The errors of our ancestors are recorded for our instruction, that they should be avoided and not imitated. But though religious animosity was not the first, nor even the principal cause of the calamities during this disastrous period, it materially strengthened and continued the evil. The hatred of Popery on the one hand, and of heresy on the other, led men, even of the purest minds, to excuse and palliate crimes, from the contemplation of which they would, under other circumstances, have shrunk with horror. It would be a desirable consummation, if the view of the evils attend-

ant on discord would lead to the more zealous cultivation of Christian charity, not only the most sublime of virtues, but that which contributes most to the peace, the harmony, and consequently the happiness and prosperity, of a nation.

CHAPTER XVI.

The War of the Confederates.

THE Catholic Lords of the Pale, driven to revolt by compulsion which could not be resisted, proceeded with the deliberate caution of men well aware of the danger they were about to encounter, and of the hazardous game they had to play. They held a conference with Roger Moore and other Irish leaders at the hill of Crofty, and demanded of the chieftain for what purpose he had taken arms? Moore replied, "To maintain the royal prerogative, and make the subjects of Ireland as free as those of England." Lord Gormanstown, on the part of his associate, asked if Moore had any further design? He solemnly answered in the negative. The Lords of the Pale then promised to assist him with all their might, and, having agreed on a second meeting at the hill of Tarah, separated to raise their respective friends. The Lords-justices, not having yet received the expected supplies from England, were alarmed at the success of their own machinations. They sent letters to the Lords of the Pale, requiring them to come up with all speed to Dublin, assuring them that they were wanting to confer on the state of the nation, and, as was added, with a manifest consciousness of being suspected for no other end. Even if these lords

could repose any confidence in the sincerity of Parsons and his colleague, they had now gone too far to retreat. They excused themselves, by referring to the sanguinary speeches of Coote at the council-board and to his indiscriminate massacres in his several excursions, declaring that they would not peril their lives by coming within the sphere of his influence.

They next prepared an address to the King, drawn up in a moderate and submissive tone. They complained of the injurious treatment which they had received from the Lords-justices, whom they justly denominated enemies to the King as well as themselves. They declared their intention to support the royal prerogative as well as their own rights, and their readiness to confer with such commissioners as the government should appoint, on the means for the advancement of his Majesty's service and the restoration of tranquillity to the kingdom, in any place where they could be protected from the malice of their deadly enemies. A manifesto, worded in the same spirit of loyalty and moderation, was extensively circulated through the kingdom. Finally, they wrote a letter to the Queen, soliciting her interference with his Majesty, and despatched it, together with a copy of their address by Sir John Reid, who held a situation in the royal household.

The proclamation of the confederates produced a powerful effect. The Lords of the Pale, who had not joined in the conference at Tarah, were induced now to join the alliance. Every county in Leinster was soon at the disposal of the insurgents; and the authority of the Lords-justices was confined to the city of Dublin and the town of Drogheda, which latter was closely besieged. In Connaught, the county of Galway was preserved in its fidelity, by

the exertions and influence of Lord Clanricarde, a Catholic nobleman remarkable for his devoted and chivalrous loyalty. In Munster, the Irish leaders found a powerful assistant in Sir Warham St Leger, the president of that province, whose cruelties rivalled, if they did not exceed, those of Coote. Having heard of a robbery committed on the lands of his brother-in-law, in the county of Tipperary, St Leger marched into the country, put to death several innocent individuals, burned their houses, and encouraged his soldiers in the commission of indiscriminate outrage. The gentry of the country remonstrated against these excesses ; but he dismissed them with studied insult, and even threats of violence. There have not been wanting advocates who attempt to palliate the criminal fury of St Leger, though they are reduced to plead an excuse absolutely ridiculous. They say that he merely retaliated the outrages of the insurgents in Ulster ! They might just as well assert, that the people of Wales should have been subjected to military execution for a rebellion in the north of Scotland.

The nobility of Munster, alarmed at the proceedings of the President, applied to the Lords-justices in Dublin for permission to take proper measures for securing the public tranquillity. Lord Muskerry offered to raise a thousand men in support of the government, at his own expense, and to mortgage his estate in order to supply them with arms. A similar tender of service was made by Lord Mountgarret; but both received a peremptory refusal. They waited until the middle of December before they could bring themselves to take any decided course ; but having then every reason to believe that arms were necessary for their preservation, they determin-

ed to join the confederates. The first proceedings of the Munster Lords were characterized by great promptitude and forbearance. Richard Butler of Kilcash seized Clonmel, Carrick, and Dungarvan, without meeting any resistance. Martin Hacket, the sovereign of the town, admitted Butler of Ard-mayle into Fethard; and Cashel was taken by O'Dwyer of Dundrum. The entire of the county of Kilkenny was easily secured by Lord Mountgarret, and the western part of the county of Cork as quietly mastered by Lord Roche. The Earl of Thomond was averse to the cause of the confederates; but his followers and relatives set his authority at defiance, and added the county of Clare to the patriotic association. In all these transactions, the lives and properties of the English Protestants were carefully protected by the Catholic nobility. The only place where any murders were committed was Cashel; in that town, twelve or thirteen persons were killed by the relations of those whom St Leger had recently slaughtered. The exertions of the Catholic clergy * saved the rest; and by their influence, the English were sent under an escort to Cork. Lord Dunboyne sent the prisoners taken at Fethard to Youghall. Sir R. Everard and Lord Muskerry gave an asylum in their houses to all the distressed English who sought their protection; and Lord Mountgarret shot Richard Cantwell, a man of great influence, being the brother of the superior of Holy-

* The names of the persons who thus generously interceded, were James Saul, a Jesuit, and Joseph Everard and Redmond, English Franciscan friars. Their meritorious interposition was proved at an assizes held in Clonmel, A. D. 1652, and was rewarded by their receiving protections from the Cromwellian government.

cross, for daring to plunder some of his prisoners. All Munster would have been reduced with the greatest facility, but for the unreasonable pride of Lord Roche, who insisted on being appointed commander-in-chief in his own county, and refused obedience to Lord Mountgarret, whom the Munster confederates had appointed as their leader.

The Lords-justices, having received some reinforcements from England, were now encouraged to pursue openly the scheme of confiscation which they had long meditated. Finding the number of prisoners brought in by the leaders of their marauding parties an insumbrance, they issued a commission for trying them by martial law, under the pretence that they could not find freeholders to form juries. Men possessing estates were kept for a more regular trial, in order to preserve the King's escheats upon attainders ; and so diligent were the retainers of government in hunting for forfeitures, that, in two days, bills of indictment for high treason were found against all the Catholic nobility and gentry in the counties of Meath, Wicklow, and Dublin, and three hundred gentlemen of fortune in the county of Kildare. To implicate the King in the alleged guilt of the Irish revolt, was a favourite object with the leaders of the English parliament ; and their creature Parsons diligently exerted himself to discover some plausible pretence for the imputation. Hugh MacMahon, who had been seized on the information of Conolly, Sir John Reid, who had voluntarily come to the quarters of the Earl of Ormond, as bearer of the address of the confederates to the King, and Patrick Barnewall, an old and respectable gentleman, who had attended the meeting on the hill of Crofty, but had taken no part in the insurrection, were subjected

to the excruciating tortures of the rack; but nothing important was elicited. Of this useless cruelty the Justices seem to have been ashamed, since they permitted Barnewall afterwards to reside peaceably in Dublin, and protected his estates from the general havock of the soldiery.

The mode in which these precious governors chose to conduct the war, may be best learned from their instructions to the Earl of Ormond, the Commander-in-chief of the royal army. He was directed not only "to kill and destroy rebels, and their adherents and relievers;" but also, "to burn, waste, consume and demolish, all the places, towns and houses, where they had been relieved and harboured, with all the corn and hay there; and also to kill and destroy all the male inhabitants capable of bearing arms!" Nor were these sanguinary edicts disregarded. Dr Borlase, who wrote a history of these transactions, professedly to vindicate the character of his near relative, the Lord-justice, *boasts*, that Sir W. Cole's regiment killed two thousand five hundred rebels in several engagements, and adds, with horrid complacency, "*there were starved and famished, of the vulgar sort, whose goods were seized on by this regiment, SEVEN THOUSAND!*" The massacres in Ulster, we have shown by the report of the parliamentary commissioners, to have been grossly exaggerated; but, at all events, they were the acts of a mob, and were not only discouraged, but punished by the Irish leaders. But what are we to say of this mandate, deliberately issued by the chief governors of a country, and obeyed by those who bore the honourable name of British officers?

The confederates, after their first vigorous efforts, became alarmed at the consequences of their own

success. They were afraid of their allies, the old Irish ; and feared that their influence would be destroyed by the preponderance which the native interest would obtain. Ormond was anxious to avail himself of this indecision, and obtained so many advantages over the insurgents, in several engagements, that the war would have been speedily terminated, had not the Lord-justice issued the most positive prohibition against his improving the advantages he had acquired. The design of the confederates appears to have been, simply to maintain such a warlike attitude as would ensure them safe and equitable conditions of peace. They hoped that the King would come over to undertake the management of the war in person ; and they trusted that they could then prove their innocency of rebellious designs.

The unfortunate Charles was fully sensible of the injury he sustained from the report of his secret partiality to the Irish Catholics. He issued proclamations, denouncing them as rebels and traitors ; he even expressed his anxiety to prove his sincerity by leading an army against them himself. But the King's falsehood and duplicity were too notorious for either party to credit his proclamations or professions. The Lords of the Pale were persuaded of his secret attachment to their cause. The English House of Commons, with much better reason, suspected that the expedition to Ireland was a mere pretext for removing to a place where he would be free from the domination of parliament ; and refused their consent in no very respectful terms.

Gormanstown, the leader of the confederates in Leinster, seeing the last hope of a tranquil settlement of the kingdom thus destroyed, died of a broken heart. His followers and friends, united

themselves to Lord Mountgarret's forces. Mountgarret led his army into the county of Kildare, where Ormond was employed in relieving the castles blockaded by the insurgents. A battle was fought at a place called Kilrush, in which the discipline of the royalists enabled them to triumph over the superior number of their opponents. The confederates were totally defeated ; but Ormond, being destitute of ammunition and provisions, could not follow up his success.

For some months the war lingered on both sides. The confederates were disunited ; they were unprepared for war ; and they had no leader possessing military talent. The royalists, on the other hand, were in a wretched condition : their soldiers were mutinous for want of pay ; their provisions were exhausted ; and the supplies they received from England were scanty in the extreme. Notwithstanding all their affected zeal for the relief of their Protestant brethren in Ireland, the English Commons made no exertions adequate to the crisis. They sent over, indeed, some few troops of fanatics, who vented their vexation for the miseries they endured, by insulting the old army as Irishmen and rebels. But, in another respect, they showed an attention to Irish affairs not very creditable to their character. They passed an act for the sale of two millions and a half of acres belonging to those whom they were pleased to designate as rebels ; and they introduced several clauses, by which the King was prevented from entering into any terms of accommodation with his unfortunate subjects. In this detestable plan of reducing a nation to despair, the Lords-justices eagerly concurred. They severally censured the Earl of Clanricarde, for having entered into terms with the

confederates in Galway; and strictly commanded all their officers to grant no protections, and to hold no correspondence with Irish or Papists. These measures were sanctioned by an Irish parliament, which sat for three days in Dublin. By expelling all who had joined the confederates, and excluding all that refused to take the oath of supremacy, the number of members was so reduced, that the creatures of government had a decided majority. The only business done in this brief session, was the enactment of new penal laws, the denouncing of Popery in unmeasured terms, and the preparation of an address to the English parliament for new and more severe laws against recusants. Having thus performed its part in exasperating the insurgents, and rendering the restoration of tranquillity hopeless, the parliament was prorogued. Like their masters in England, the Lords-justices totally neglected the war. St Leger, in Munster, was so mortified by the vexations which he suffered for want of aid, that he died of grief, and was succeeded by Lord Inchiquin. The confederates were unable to avail themselves of the misconduct of the government, and were so dispirited by repeated reverses, and by the arrival of a large body of troops sent to the north, by the Scottish parliament, that they almost resolved to give up the contest, and become voluntary exiles.

The arrival of Owen O'Neill, who had acquired a high character in Continental warfare, revived the hopes of the Irish. He was a leader whose noble qualities would have done honour to any cause; a skilful and circumspect soldier, and a prudent statesman. Cool, cautious and calculating, he was celebrated for his Fabian policy in protracting war. Mild, generous and humane, he was respected by his enemies,

and beloved by those whom he protected. On assuming the command, he denounced, in the strongest terms, the excesses which his kinsman Sir Phelim had sanctioned, and declared, that if any cruelties were again perpetrated, he would quit the country. About the same time, the Earl of Leven arrived with reinforcements to the Scotch in Ulster; but though his army was sufficient to crush the raw levies of O'Neill, the Earl made no warlike effort. Having advanced a short distance into Tyrone, Leven addressed a letter to the Irish hero, expressing his surprise that a man of his reputation would have quitted his dignities abroad, to maintain so bad a cause as that of the Irish. O'Neill replied, that he could assign better reasons for coming to the relief of his country, than his Lordship for marching into England against his King. Thus terminated the correspondence. Leven retired, after having received this reply, and soon after returned to Scotland, assuring Monroe, to whom he resigned the command, that when O'Neill had collected his forces, he would give him a very sound drubbing. This strange termination of an expedition from which so much had been expected, greatly encouraged the northern Irish. They hastened with alacrity to range themselves under the banners of O'Neill; while Monroe, remembering Leven's prophecy, confined himself to his quarters; and his army, neglected by the parliament, had to struggle against the miseries of nakedness and famine.

The confederates now determined to organize a civil government; and, in this necessary work, the clergy being already a constituted body, took the lead. A provincial synod was held at Armagh;

and, soon after, a general assembly from all the provinces at Kilkenny. Their acts were numerous and solemn, and breathe a spirit of charity and moderation, powerfully contrasted with the sanguinary and intolerant declarations issued by the fanatics in Dublin. They began with sanctioning the war which had been undertaken "against sectaries and puritans for defence of the Catholic religion, the prerogative of the King, the honour and safety of the Queen and royal issue, the preservation of the rights and liberties of Irishmen, and the lives and fortunes of the confederates," as just and necessary. They declare that no order of the King, whom they very properly regarded as an unwilling instrument in the hands of their enemies, should be obeyed until they were certified by their own agents of his real intentions. They directed, that an oath of association should be taken by all the members of the confederacy, and that no distinction should be made between the old and new Irish. They denounce the heaviest censures of the church on those who remain neutral in the contest ; and prohibit, under pain of excommunication, any injury to a Protestant who was not an adversary to their cause. They direct that exact registers should be kept of all murders and cruelties committed by the Puritans in the several provinces, but prohibit retaliation under the severest penalties. They ordain, that provincial assemblies, composed of the laity and clergy, should be formed for local government, but that the chief authority should be lodged with a national council, to which the others should be subordinate." There were some other regulations of minor importance, but the above articles contain the substance of the ordinances published by the Catholic clergy ; and we can discover in them no trace of

the bigotry and persecuting spirit vulgarly attributed to that much calumniated body.

The national assembly was soon after convened at Kilkenny ; it consisted principally of the Anglo-Irish nobility, and was conducted with all the form and order of a regular parliament. The proceedings of this noble but unfortunate body will not suffer by comparison with those of any other convention that has ever assembled under similar circumstances. Having first solemnly professed their unshaken allegiance to the King, they renounce the authority of the Irish government administered in Dublin, " by a malignant party, to his Highness's great disservice, and in compliance with their confederates the malignant party in England." They declared, that they would maintain the rights and immunities of their national church (the Roman Catholic), as established by the great charter. They profess to accept the common law of England, and the statutes of Ireland, so far as they were not contrary to the national religion or the national liberties. They erected provincial councils for the administration, but allowed an appeal from their decisions to THE SUPREME COUNCIL OF THE CONFEDERATE CATHOLICS OF IRELAND. This body, which was to exercise all the functions of the executive government, was to consist of twenty-four persons, chosen by the general assembly. Nine members should be present to transact any business ; and a majority of two-thirds was required to give validity to any act. For the greater honour and security of this important body, a guard was assigned, consisting of five hundred foot and two hundred horse. The generals appointed for the conduct of the war were Owen O'Neill in Ulster ; Preston, who

had lately come from France with arms and ammunition furnished by Cardinal Richelieu, for Leinster; Garret Barry for Munster; and Colonel John Burke for Connaught. The latter bore only the title of lieutenant-general; for the confederates designed the chief command for the Earl of Clanricarde; but that nobleman refused to join the alliance.

Though disappointed by Clanricarde, the confederates obtained a valuable assistant in Lord Castlehaven, whom the Lords-justices had forced into their ranks. This nobleman was a peer of England as well as Ireland. On the breaking out of the northern insurrection, he hastened to tender his services to the government, but was mortified by a refusal. He then asked for a passport to return to England, which was also denied; and he was then prohibited from residing in Dublin. Castlehaven retired to his estates in Kilkenny, determined to interfere no more in politics, and affording a refuge to the distressed English, who were driven from their settlements by the insurgents. He was employed by the Lords of the Pale as a mediator, to transmit their remonstrance to the Lords-justices, and received, in reply, a severe reprimand, for daring to correspond with rebels. He again solicited permission to return to his English estates, and again met a peremptory refusal. After the battle of Kilrush, he prepared a dinner for the victorious Earl of Ormond, and feasted him and his principal officers. The wretched creatures of government circulated a report, that this feast was originally designed for Lord Mountgarret and the confederates; and soon after, on a report that one of his servants had stolen a horse, he was indicted for high treason. Castlehaven, with the boldness of conscious innocence, hastened to Dublin, and

presented himself at the council-board. The Lords-justices refused him a hearing, and committed him to prison. His brother, Colonel Mervin Touchett, applied to the King, who was then at York, that the Earl should be tried by his peers. Charles referred the matter to the parliament, and the parliament refused to interfere without the King. After having been detained a prisoner for twenty weeks, Castlehaven, justly dreading the insidious practices of Parsons, contrived to make his escape. He fled to Kilkenny, and was received with open arms by the confederates, who, delighted by the accession of an English peer, appointed him to command the Leinster cavalry under Preston.

The civil war had now broken out in England, and the parliament sent over agents to engage the Irish army on their side. These attempts were directly encouraged by Parsons, who admitted the parliamentary emissaries into the privy council, without waiting for the royal sanction. Ormond, on the other hand, strenuously laboured to keep the soldiers in their allegiance, and partially succeeded. A remonstrance, complaining of the manner in which the war had been conducted, was transmitted to England, notwithstanding all the resistance of Parsons; and soon after, the Justices were further mortified, by being forced to send over the address of the confederates. Conscious that the charges contained in this document were true, and the requests reasonable, they addressed themselves craftily to the avarice of the King, and the prejudices of the people. They sent a letter with the document, stating, that concessions "would be inconsistent with the means of raising a considerable revenue to the crown, and establishing religion and civility in Ireland." But

Charles was no longer under the necessity of dissembling with his parliament ; he issued a commission to the Earl of Ormond, Clanricarde and others, empowering them to treat with the confederates ; he removed Parsons from the government, and nominated Sir H. Tichburne in his stead.

The affairs of the confederates were now in a prosperous condition. Owen O'Neill obtained a victory over Monroe in Ulster ; the Lords Castlehaven and Muskerry defeated Sir Charles Vavasor at Kilworth in Munster, and confined Inchiquin to his garrisons. Connaught was totally at their disposal ; and, through the rashness of Preston, though they had suffered a defeat near Ross, yet Ormond, having been prevented from improving his victory by the treachery of the parliamentarian general Lord Lisle, could not boast of any decisive advantage. Yet the violent party in the Irish privy council and the English House of Commons, whose neglect had reduced the Protestant forces to so low an ebb, exclaimed violently against any negotiation with the insurgents. To remove every pretext from these infuriate bigots, Ormond proposed that they should suggest any other mode for the preservation of the kingdom ; and offered to continue the war, if they would supply him with ten thousand pounds, one half in money, and the rest in victuals.

This negotiation proved the ruin of the confederates, and the destruction of the King. This was principally owing to the conduct of the Earl of Ormond, who was far more bitterly opposed to the Catholic Lords than to the English parliament. His hatred of Popery and his love of wealth were too powerful for his loyalty ; and in the hope of some favourable circumstances arising, he craftily protracted

the negotiations until his insincerity was manifest to all, and his royal master ruined. Unquestionably, in the situation of affairs at the time, the wisest plan would have been to assemble a new parliament, which would instantly have superseded the council at Kilkenny, and to have united the royalists and confederates into one body. The Lords of the Pale eagerly desired such a consummation; they knew the secret of their own weakness. Dissensions had already appeared in the supreme council. Some violent ecclesiastics had insisted on the establishment of the Roman Catholic religion in all its splendour, and denounced their more moderate brethren as traitors to the cause of religion. The jealousies between the new and old Irish, had manifested themselves on more than one occasion; and the confederates at once envied and dreaded the power and popularity of O'Neill. Ormond knew all these circumstances; and hoping at once to crush Popery, and reap some share of the future harvest of confiscations, he basely sacrificed, to these unworthy motives, the happiness of his country, and the life of his sovereign.

The cessation of arms was at length signed; for Ormond steadily resisted any proposals for a final arrangement. The confederates, however, grateful for such a respite, stipulated for the payment of thirty thousand pounds to the King; one half in money, and the other half in cattle. The war ought now to have been at an end; for it is impossible to discover any reasonable pretext, that the most zealous royalist could adduce, for regarding the confederates any longer as enemies. The Charter of Graces, for which alone they contended, had been purchased from the King at the very beginning of his reign. The conditions which it contained were just and

reasonable, such as a monarch, anxious for the welfare of his people, ought to have conceded in an instant. The loyalty of these noblemen to their sovereign was unquestioned; they were all animated with a generous zeal to rescue him from the Puritans; but, by the contrivance of Ormond, they were kept in a hostile position, and at the same time prevented from making use of their arms.

The clergy and the old Irish were justly disatisfied with the truce, which had checked their full tide of success, and weakened their strength by the loss of the men and money sent to aid the King in England; they, however, confined themselves to remonstrances. The parliamentarians, on the other hand, declared that this alliance with murderous Papists, as they designated the Lords of the Pale, was a crying sin, and sent orders to their generals to disregard the truce.

Monroe and his followers took the *solemn league and covenant*, which had been framed by the Scotch in the beginning of their war against the King. He was soon after appointed, by the English parliament, commander-in-chief of all their forces, and directed to lead them against all opponents of their cause. The confederates now eagerly besought Ormond to place himself at their head, and lead them against the Ulster Scots. This would, however, have been fatal to his avaricious views. He refused to proclaim the Scots rebels; and he would not acknowledge the confederates as good subjects. He professed, however, his willingness to employ in the King's service any men or money that might be placed at his disposal. The Catholic Lords were not, however, now so foolishly confident in Ormond's integrity as they had been; and they in-

trusted the command of the forces sent against Monroe to the Earl of Castlehaven. Owen O'Neill was provoked at the distrust manifested by the council of Kilkenny, in withholding from him the command of the forces employed in Ulster. Indeed, he seems to have foreseen, that the credulity and folly of the confederates would prove the ruin of their cause, and to have determined on a separation of interests. Castlehaven, unsupported by O'Neill, could do nothing ; and Monroe, persevering in his usual inactivity, the campaign in the north produced no important result.

In the meantime, a deputation from the Catholic confederates proceeded to lay their demands before the King ; and a committee from the Protestants of Dublin was also sent over to state their proposals for the pacification of the country. The articles presented by the rival parties are full of instruction ; and we request the reader to compare them attentively, as they illustrate the objects and motives of this protracted contest. The Catholics demanded the freedom of their religion, and a repeal of the penal laws ; a free parliament, with a suspension of Poyning's Law during its session ; seminaries in Ireland for the education of the Catholic lawyers and clergy ; a general act of pardon and oblivion, and the reversal of all attainders against those who had shared in the war ; the exclusion from the Irish parliaments of all who were not estated and resident in Ireland ; an act, declaring the Irish Parliament independent of that in England ; an act, that no chief governor should retain his office more than three years, and that, during that time, he should be disqualified from acquiring new lands in the country ; a Parliamentary inquiry into all breaches of quarter, and

acts of inhumanity, committed on either side, during the contest ; the exclusion of all who had been guilty of such crimes from the act of oblivion, and their punishment in due course of law." On the granting of these propositions, the confederates engaged to support the King with their lives and fortunes, and to contribute ten thousand men immediately for his assistance in England.

The Protestant deputation demanded "the rigorous execution of all penal statutes against recusants ; the immediate and total disarming of all Catholics ; the compelling them to repair all damages sustained by Protestants ; the punishment of all offences committed by recusants, without pardon or mitigation ; the vesting of all the estates forfeited under the administration of Parsons in the crown ; and, after satisfaction had been made to such as claimed under the acts of Parliament, the distribution of the residue entirely to British planters." It must be remembered, that at the time these proposals were made, the confederates were in possession of the entire kingdom, except Dublin and a few posts ; and that six-sevenths of the property and population of Ireland were Catholic. It is scarcely necessary to add, that the claims then made by the confederates have been granted by degrees, as the light of knowledge has become gradually more diffused ; though, in that age, the system advocated by those violent Protestants prevailed, and brought on the country more than a century of misery and degradation.

Charles, with his usual indecision, neither accepted nor rejected the proposals of the confederates. He addressed them in kind and soothing terms ; pathetically lamented the difficulties of his situation

assured them that he felt a tender interest in their welfare ; and then threw the burden of the negotiation on the Marquis of Ormond. This fatal vacillation, to give it no harsher term, was ruinous. The confederates could not be expected to rely on the simple word of a sovereign, who had already deceived them so grossly respecting the Charter of the Graces. They would not, therefore, move until the treaty of pacification was signed ; and this was delayed by the reluctance of Ormond, until the King's cause was hopeless.

In the midst of the negotiations an unexpected revolution took place in Munster. Inchiquin, having been refused the office of Lord President by the King, declared for the parliament, and made himself master of Cork, Youghall, and Kinsale, from which he expelled all the Catholic inhabitants. His example was followed by Lord Esmond, who betrayed Duncannon to the parliamentary forces. The Earl of Inchiquin was the lineal representative of the royal race of the O'Briens ; but there was never a scourge of Ireland animated by a greater hatred of his countrymen. Whether fighting for the King or the Parliament, and he changed sides more than once, he was invariably the bitter enemy of his countrymen, and the savage profaner of those religious edifices in which the ashes of his own ancestors reposed. His name is preserved in the traditions of Munster, as the symbol of every thing that is wicked and terrible. Nurses scare their children by the threat of calling *black Morough O'Brien* ; and the superstitious peasant tells of the curse that he brought upon his family, and the failure of male heirs to the title of Inchiquin. His cruelty on one occasion presents a remarkable contrast to the conduct of the

Catholics at the same place : when he stormed Cashel, he pursued the fugitives into the splendid cathedral of that city, called from its situation The Rock ; there he mercilessly slaughtered the unresisting multitude, and the blood of no less than twenty priests polluted the altars of the God of mercy.

When the news of this revolution reached the council at Kilkenny, they directed Lord Castlehaven to march against the Earl of Inchiquin, while Preston was sent to besiege Duncannon. The English parliament seemed in no hurry to succour their new partisans. Duncannon was forced to surrender, after a short but vigorous siege ; and Castlehaven, having defeated Inchiquin in the field, proceeded to reduce the different castles along the rivers Lee and Blackwater. His enterprises were crowned with success ; he reduced several places of importance ; made a great number of leading men prisoners ; and finally, advancing to the coast, laid siege to Youghall, though the town was well garrisoned, and further protected by two parliamentary frigates that lay in the harbour. Castlehaven directed his Lieutenant-general, Purcell, to attack Croker's works, which formed an advanced post on the south of the walls, while he, crossing the river Blackwater, planted some cannon on the ferry point, which juts out opposite the town. The fire of Castlehaven's guns destroyed one of the frigates ; but Purcell was defeated in a sally of the garrison ; and, before this calamity could be remedied, the siege was raised by the arrival of Lord Broghill. The winter soon after set in, and military operations were laid aside to resume the long pending negotiations.

Ormond was resolved not to grant the terms de-

manded by the confederates ; and they, feeling that they had been more moderate than what prudence or even justice required, refused to recede from a single claim. He tried in vain to persuade them of the expediency of assisting the King as promptly as possible. They very properly replied, that they would not weaken themselves until the signature of the treaty had secured their future safety. During this delay, Rinuccini, Archbishop of Fermo, arrived in Ireland, as legate from the Pope, and showed himself as hostile to any pacification, which did not secure the public establishment of the Romish religion, as the Ultra-protestants were to terms that granted simple toleration. Charles, harassed by the increasing difficulties of his affairs, and anxiously hoping that the promised aid from Ireland would retrieve his losses, determined to employ another negotiator, since he found Ormond disobedient. This envoy was Edward Lord Herbert, son of the Marquis of Worcester, whom, for his warm attachment to the royal cause, the King had created Earl of Glamorgan. He found the confederates inclined to insist on more favourable terms than they had previously demanded, in consequence of Castlehaven's recent successes ; but he had influence enough to prevail upon them to make both a public and a private treaty ; the latter of which, Glamorgan declared, contained terms too favourable to the Catholics, to be published at a time when the rage against Popery absolutely amounted to a national insanity.

There has been a long dispute, whether Glamorgan did not exceed his instructions, by agreeing to certain articles in the private treaty ; and some warm defenders of Charles assert, that the Earl certainly

exceeded his instructions. The question is not really important, because the principal additional concession could have been no disgrace to the King. It was simply that the Catholics should pay tithes to their own ecclesiastics, and the Protestants to the teachers of their own church. Protestant historians, however, describe this article, and a statute of similar tendency, in the reign of James, a cruel mockery; because that many ministers of the establishment had notoriously no congregations. To which the Catholic writers reply, by asking, why then should they be paid for their instruction? And it has not been our good fortune to meet with a satisfactory answer to the question. A second article was, "that the churches should remain in the hands of their present possessors;" which has been impugned and defended on the same grounds as the preceding.

Rinuccini, and the Papal party, objected to the treaties, as not sufficiently securing the establishment of the ancient religion; but found few supporters among the laity. The legate, on his way to Ireland, had stopped some time at Paris; and had there entered into some negotiations with the Queen of England, then at the French court soliciting assistance. Her bigoted attachment to the church of Rome, and extraordinary influence over her husband, gave the legate reason to hope that he would be able to restore the influence of the Holy See over Ireland in all its former strength; but he found the great majority of the Irish leaders little disposed to the cause of priestly domination. The resistance of Rinuccini to the peace has been made the subject of countless invectives; but he can hardly be blamed, when he had obtained a promise of more favourable terms from one whom he describes in his Memoirs, as "Queen

over the King himself, rather than over the nation."

With much more reason Rinuccini objected to the treaty with Glamorgan being kept secret. He said, that, "if the publication of these articles would offend the Protestant royalists, there was reason to dread that the Catholic princes on the Continent would be displeased by their concealment;" and added, "that a secret treaty might easily be disowned by the King and his ministers whenever it was their convenience to do so." The latter argument made a deep impression, especially on the minds of the old Irish, who had so often suffered by the violation of royal promises; and an accidental circumstance soon proved that the legate's apprehensions were not altogether groundless.

A second Sir Charles Coote, for the former had been killed in a skirmish during the first year of the war, had been sent by the parliament to aid Monroe in Ulster, and, unlike that general, soon distinguished himself by zeal and activity. He advanced into Connaught, and made himself master of Sligo, and extended his depredations into the neighbouring counties. Sir James Dillon was sent with a body of eight hundred men to aid the titular Archbishop of Tuam in recovering this important post. The war-like prelate assaulted Sligo, and had nearly succeeded, when his soldiers were alarmed by the report of another army advancing from the north. Coote sallied out, attacked the Irish army in its retreat, and put it to the rout. The baggage of the Archbishop was taken, and in it was found a copy of the treaty that had been made with Glamorgan. The victorious general immediately transmitted the document to the English parliament, by whom it was at once pub-

lished, and extensively circulated in Britain and Ireland.

All the parties to the treaty were now in a singularly awkward position ; and the efforts they made to extricate themselves, exhibit scenes of treachery, meanness and duplicity, in high places, which would be ludicrous if they were not disgusting. The King set the example. He boldly denied having given Glamorgan any authority to conclude such a treaty ; he declared to the English parliament that the only purpose for which the Earl had been sent to Ireland was to raise forces for his Majesty's service. This he contradicts in a letter to the Irish privy council, in which he states, "that it is possible he might have thought fit to have given the Earl of Glamorgan such a credential as might give him credit with the Roman Catholics, in case the Marquis (of Ormond) should find occasion to make use of him, either as a further assurance to them of what he should privately promise, or in case he should judge it necessary to manage those matters for their greater confidence apart by the Earl, of whom they might be less jealous." To complete the whole inconsistency of his excuses, the King wrote a private letter to the Marquis of Ormond, in which he declared, "on the word of a Christian, he never intended Glamorgan should treat of any thing without his (the Marquis's) approbation, much less his knowledge." Glamorgan next appears upon the stage ; the Lord Lieutenant and Lord Digby, affecting to believe that he had exceeded his powers, caused him to be arrested on a charge of high treason, and brought for examination before the council. Glamorgan's defence was as extraordinary, and as disgraceful, as any part of the transaction. He astounded his hearers

by declaring, that “ what he did was not, as he conceived, any way obligatory on his Majesty ; ” to which he added, after some recollection, “ and yet without any just blemish of my honour, honesty, or conscience ! ” To explain this strange speech, he produced a *defeazance*, signed the day after the signature of the treaty, and by the same parties. It declared that the Earl, by his engagements, no way intended, “ to oblige his Majesty, other than he himself should please, after he had received the ten thousand men : Yet he faithfully promised, on his word of honour, not to acquaint his Majesty with this *defeazance*, till he had used his utmost endeavours to procure the fulfilment of the treaty ; but when he had made these exertions he was to be relieved from all further responsibility ; he was also bound by oath, never to disclose this *defeazance* without the consent of the commissioners.”

The King sent a letter to the Irish Privy Council, ordering that Glamorgan should be detained a prisoner ; but at the same time he wrote privately to Ormond, “ to suspend the execution of any sentence against him, until the King was informed fully of all the proceedings.” It will not lessen the reader’s surprise to learn, that, notwithstanding all this heat, Ormond had long before received instructions from the King to conclude a peace with the confederates, on terms nearly, if not fully, as favourable to the Catholics, as those granted by Glamorgan.

While the Earl remained in prison, he received two letters from the King, one designed to be seen by Ormond and Digby, the other private and confidential. Both are still preserved in the Harleian

collection of manuscripts at the British Museum ; and they illustrate the King's share in these transactions too forcibly to be omitted.

The first is the ostensible letter, and was transmitted officially.

“ GLAMORGAN,

“ I must clearly tell you, both you and I have been abused in this business ; for you have been drawn to consent to conditions beyond your instructions, and your treaty hath been divulged to all the world. If you had advised with my Lord Lieutenant, as you promised me, all this had been helped. But we must look forward. Wherefore, in a word, I have commanded as much favour to be shewn to you, as may possibly stand with my service or safety ; and, if you will yet trust my advice—which I have commanded Digby to give you freely—I will bring you so off, that you may be still useful to me, and I shall be able to recompense you for your affection. If not, I cannot tell what to say. But I will not doubt your compliance in this, since it so highly concerns the good of all my crowns, my own particular, and to make me have still means to shew myself,

“ Your most assured friend,

“ CHARLES, R.”

“ Oxford, Feb. 3, 1645-6.”

The second letter was sent by Sir J. Winter, Glamorgan's cousin-german, a Roman Catholic gentleman high in the confidence of the Queen, and who had been once her private secretary. Its address is much more familiar than that of the preceding.

“ HERRICK,

“ I am confident that this honest trusty bearer will give you good satisfaction why I have not in every thing done as you desired ; the want of confidence in you being so far from being the cause thereof, that I am every day more and more confirmed in the trust that I have of you. For believe me, it is not in the power of any to make you suffer in my opinion by ill offices. But of this and divers other things, I have given to Sir J. Winter so full instructions, that I will say no more, but that I am,

“ Your assured and constant friend,

“ CHARLES, R.”

“ Oxford, Feb. 28, 1645-6.”

Before these letters reached Ireland, Glamorgan had been liberated on bail. At the first news of his arrest, the confederates at Kilkenny determined to rescue him by force of arms ; but, learning that the threatened prosecution was a mere pretence, they resolved to remain quiet.

We have detailed the transactions with Glamorgan at rather disproportionate length, not only on account of its intrinsic importance, but because of the scandalous manner in which it has been misrepresented by several historians. Clarendon omits the proceedings altogether ; and his silence is a conclusive proof that he believed the King's conduct indefensible. Hume, by a long and laboured argument, endeavours to prove, that the entire blame rests on Glamorgan ; and declares, that the King never could have designed to show such favour to the Catholics. Carte, who saw the original documents, by suppressing some, and misrepresenting

others, labours to show, that the ascendancy of the Protestant church in Ireland had been always made by Charles a primary article in all instructions concerning the peace. And Smollett declares, that “the King was incapable of dissimulation.” If there be any person who entertains any hesitation in pronouncing the conduct of the King a tissue of fraud and falsehood, his doubts must be removed by the perusal of the two following letters, addressed by the wretched monarch to Lord Glamorgan, the originals of which are also still preserved in the British Museum. The first is partially ostensible; but the concluding words (printed in italics) are written in cipher.

“ GLAMORGAN,

“ I have no time, nor do you expect, that I shall make unnecessary repetitions to you. Wherefore, referring you to Digby for business, this is only to give you assurance of my constant friendship for you, which, considering the general defection of common honesty, is in a sort requisite. Howbeit, I know you cannot but be confident of *my making good all instructions and promises to you and the Nuncio.*

“ Your most assured constant friend,

“ CHARLES, R.”

“ Oxford, April 5th, 1646.”

The other letter is as follows; and its contents decisively prove, that Glamorgan’s concessions to the confederate Catholics had the King’s full consent and approbation.

“ HERBERT,

“ As I doubt not but you have too much cou-

rage to be dismayed or discouraged at the usage you have had, so I assure you that my estimation of you is nothing diminished by it, but rather *begets in me a desire of revenge and reparation to us both; for in this I hold myself equally interested with you.* Wherefore, not doubting of your accustomed care and industry in my service, I assure you of the continuance of my favour and protection to you, and that in deeds, more than in words, I shall shew myself to be,

“ Your most assured constant friend,

“ CHARLES, R.”

“ Oxford, April 6th, 1646.”

So much for the sincerity of the Royal martyr, in his disavowal of Glamorgan’s negotiations !

The publication of the defeazance, and the refusal of Ormond to recognise the secret articles to which Glamorgan had consented, destroyed the little remains of harmony in the council of the confederates. The Anglo-Irish Lords had been driven to revolt by irresistible compulsion, and were anxious to conclude the war on any terms. The old Irish were justly suspicious of Ormond, and as justly indignant that no care had been taken of their peculiar interests in either of the treaties. Rinuccini, who knew that negotiations were in progress at Paris between Charles and the Pope, insisted that they should wait for the Pope’s peace. The Irish clergy declared, that no terms should be accepted which did not include the ecclesiastical articles in Glamorgan’s secret treaty. Meantime, the King’s affairs had become desperate ; and Ormond, at length awakened to the dangers of delay, when it was too late, consented to the repeal of the penal laws, and signed

the treaty with the confederates on the 28th of March 1646.

Owen O'Neill had been, during all this time, employed in training his forces, and making such preparations as would ensure his success. He contrived to bring Monroe to an engagement at Benburb ; and though the Scottish general had forces superior to the Irish in number and discipline, O'Neill completely fulfilled Leven's prophecy, and gained the most decisive victory that had occurred during the war. While preparing to improve his success, and completely expel the parliamentarians from Ulster, the northern general received a letter from Rinuncini, requiring him to march into Leinster, to overawe the confederates. The nuncio had not only disavowed the peace, but had prevailed upon a large body of the clergy to join with him in excommunicating the commissioners by whom it had been signed, and all who ventured to observe it. In consequence of this denunciation, the heralds appointed to proclaim the treaty were violently assaulted by the populace in several towns ; and at Limerick, the mayor and king-at-arms hardly escaped with their lives. The King had now surrendered himself to the Scots ; and Ormond, seeing the royal cause hopeless, began to negotiate with the parliament. The violence and fury of the nuncio soon spread ruin through the armies of the confederates. Even those who had at first been his most strenuous supporters, became alarmed at the pernicious consequences. Charles himself unfortunately increased the arrogance of this haughty prelate, by declaring, in a letter to Glamorgan,* that, if he could contrive

* This letter was first published on the Continent ; but

by any means to make his escape, he would throw himself into the arms of the nuncio. Rinuccini, elated by such a prospect, prevailed on Preston and O'Neill to join him, and, with the two armies, laid siege to Dublin. Lord Digby, who was in Ireland on behalf of the King, and was willing to make any sacrifice in his master's service, endeavoured to moderate the stubbornness of Ormond. Clanricarde made similar exertions with the nuncio ; but both were too obstinate to be moved.

Carte must have been aware of its existence, since he quotes, from the nuncio's Memoirs, the pages immediately preceding and succeeding that in which it occurs. It will at once be seen, that it contains a complete refutation of his defence of Charles. The following is a copy :—

“ GLAMORGAN,

“ I am not so strictly guarded but that, if you send to me a prudent and secret person, I can receive a letter, and you may signify to me your mind ; I having always loved your person and conversation, which I ardently wish for at present more than ever, if it could be had without prejudice to you, whose safety is dear to me as my own. If you can raise a large sum of money, by pawning my kingdoms for that purpose, I am content you should do it ; and if I recover them, I will fully repay that money ; and tell the Nuncio, that if once I come into his and your hands, which ought extremely to be wished for by you both, as well for the sake of England as Ireland, since all the rest, as I see, despise me, I will do it ; and if I do not say this from my heart, or if in any future time I fail you in this, may God never restore me to my kingdom in this world, nor give me eternal happiness in the next ; to which I hope this tribulation will conduct me at last, after I have satisfied my obligations to my friends ; to none of whom I am so much obliged as to yourself, whose merits towards me exceed all expressions that can be used by

“ Your constant friend,

“ CHARLES, R.

“ Newcastle, July 20, 1646.”

Ormond was soon avowedly engaged in a negotiation with the parliamentarians ; he even declared, that he had received an intimation from the King to submit to that party rather than the Irish. That this was utterly false, is clear from the following letter of Charles :—

“ OAMONDE,

“ The large despatch from you and Digby of the second and third of December, with the full account of your London treaty, I have received by several messengers ; thereby finding, with great contentment, that I am no ways deceived in my confidence of you. For I really and heartily approve of all that you have done hitherto, and, in particular, concerning Colonel Preston ; but, for further directions, I can only say that you must, in no case, submit to the *CW JK*, * and that you endeavour what you can to repiece your breach with the Irish, in case you can do it with honour and a good conscience ; both which are so rightly understood by you, that I will neither trouble you nor myself with more particulars. I command you to follow such orders as the queen and my son shall send you ; and so desiring to hear often from you, I rest

“ Your most assured, real, faithful,
“ and constant friend,

“ CHARLES, R.”

“ Newcastle, Jan. 5, 1647. ”

While the council of the confederates, distracted

* It is scarcely necessary to mention, what is sufficiently evident from the context, that these ciphers designate the English and Scottish parliaments.

by the violence of the nuncio, and the intemperate zeal of his followers, could neither be persuaded to maintain peace, nor prosecute the war with vigour, Ormond completed his treaty with the English parliament, and received their troops into Dublin. The terms for which he stipulated, were a sum of fourteen thousand pounds to reimburse himself for his private expenses during the war, a pension of three thousand pounds per annum for his wife, and permission to reside in England, on condition of submitting to the authority of Parliament. The Puritans, under the command of Colonel Jones, had no sooner obtained possession of Dublin, than they treated Ormond with the greatest harshness and contempt. Alarmed for his safety, he hastily embarked for England, but had scarcely arrived there when he learned that the parliament had given orders for his arrest, and he escaped precipitately to France. O'Neill had long despised the confederates ; he was now equally weary of the nuncio, whose presumptuous folly had given disgust to every reasonable man in his own party. Even the court of Rome had signified its disapprobation of his proceedings, and refused to ratify his promises. The Catholic armies, too, had been generally unsuccessful. Preston, after having gained a splendid victory near Dublin, failed to improve his advantages, and soon after suffered a defeat. Inchiquin gained several triumphs over the confederates in Munster, and pushed his depredations almost to the walls of Kilkenny. O'Neill refused to obey the general council, declaring himself the soldier of the nuncio. At this crisis, an attempt was made by O'Neill to negotiate with the English parliament, whose cause he foresaw must be victorious, from the superior abilities of those by whom it was

supported. The particulars are recorded by Ludlow, who was one of the committee appointed to confer with the Ulster delegates by the Council of State. The Irish demanded indemnity for the past, the future security of their estates, and liberty of conscience. They complained bitterly of the King's duplicity, and declared that they would have made application to the parliament sooner, had not the men in power been obstinately determined on their extirpation. The Puritans, however, hated Popery too sincerely to grant it toleration, and the treaty was broken off abruptly.

The defeat of the confederates under Lord Taaffe by the Earl of Inchiquin, so alarmed the council at Kilkenny, that, in spite of the nuncio's exertions, it was resolved to renew the treaty that had been concluded with Ormond, and the Lords Muskerry and Geoffrey Browne were sent to confer with the Queen and the Prince of Wales on the subject at Paris. By the influence of the nuncio, ambassadors were also sent to solicit assistance from the courts of Rome, Paris, and Madrid. The declining influence of Rinuccini was also shown in another important instance. A treatise was published by an Irish Jesuit, advising the nation to throw off its allegiance to the English crown, and choose a Catholic prince as an independent sovereign. The council, by an overwhelming majority, voted that this mischievous work should be publicly burned by the common hangman.

Muskerry and Browne, on their arrival in France, earnestly entreated that Prince Charles should come over and place himself at the head of the Irish royalists, a measure which would probably have produced a complete revolution. This was refused;

but a promise was made that a person should soon be sent over, empowered to give the confederates every satisfaction ; and they were secretly assured, that the person intended was Ormond.

The answers received from Paris and Rome completed the destruction of Rinuccini's power. The Papal court had refused to assist the confederates with money or munitions of war, and had further left them at liberty to make any terms for their religion, suitable to the circumstances of the time. They now determined to make a truce with Inchiquin, who had of late resolved to return to the King's party, being disgusted with the ingratitude shown him by the parliament, and shocked by the abolition of royal power in England. While a secret negotiation was proceeding, the Puritans in Cork and Youghall, suspecting the designs of their leader, determined to secure these towns ; but the plot being discovered, the principal leaders were thrown into prison. Inchiquin was thus forced into a premature avowal of his designs ; and the nuncio became acquainted with the secret of the armistice. He denounced this treaty, as he had done that of 1646, with the most intemperate violence. He excommunicated all those by whom it was favoured, and denounced an interdict against the places where it should be maintained. But these spiritual weapons had been used so often, and on such frivolous occasions by the nuncio, that they were no longer formidable. The armistice was signed, and a formal appeal made to the Pope against Rinuccini's censures. It was signed by two Archbishops, twelve Bishops, all the secular Clergy, and by the Jesuits, the Carmelites, and a great majority of the Augustinians, Dominicans, and Franciscans.

The nuncio, and the small portion of the clergy that adhered to him, now proposed, that O'Neill should advance to Kilkenny, disperse the council of the confederates, and assume the dictatorship of Ireland ; but O'Neill wanted energy of character, and, besides, was unwilling to shed blood, unless on the field of battle. He advanced for the purpose of overawing the council ; but while on his march, the armistice was concluded, and he was exposed to the attack of the armies, both of Inchiquin and Preston, each of which was superior to his own. By an exertion of the most consummate ability, he extricated himself from these difficulties, and retreated with little loss to Ulster, while he was proclaimed a traitor by the supreme council.

Another partisan of the nuncio was the Marquis of Antrim, who, during the whole struggle, had exhibited the greatest vanity and incapacity. Through the favour of the Queen, on whom his boasts produced a very powerful impression, he had been commissioned by the King to raise a body of forces in Ulster, to assist the projects of Montrose in Scotland. Though he had failed to execute his promises, he solicited now the appointment of chief governor of Ireland ; and finding that it was already bestowed on Ormond, he resolved to harass the royalists, whom he could not command. He appeared before Wexford with a body of Scotch Highlanders and discontented Irish ; but was totally defeated by the confederates. He then entered into terms with Jones, the parliamentarian governor, and was permitted by him to pass with the relics of his followers to O'Neill's quarters. O'Neill was at first duped by Antrim's boasting, and placed himself under his command ; but soon discovering his insignificance,

he resumed his place as general of the northern Irish. It is remarkable, that Rinuccini sanctioned the negotiations of O'Neill and Antrim with the Puritans, who had vowed the extirpation of Popery, while he denounced vengeance on all who treated with those who were willing to give the professors of the Romish religion every reasonable security. Such are the inconsistencies of bigotry and fanaticism.

Ormond returned to Ireland with a much more sincere inclination for peace than he had previously manifested. The treatment he had received from the parliament convinced him that nothing was to be hoped from that party ; and he resolved to devote himself entirely to the King. But it was now too late : the confederates could no longer trust a man who had so grossly betrayed the confidence which they had formerly bestowed ; and Ormond found that opportunities neglected never again return. He pushed on the negotiations with a vigour quite unlike his former tardiness ; and was stimulated to greater speed by the following letters, which he received from the King, then a prisoner in the Isle of Wight :

" ORMONDE,

" Lest you might be misled by false rumours, I have thought fit by this to tell you my true condition. I am here in a treaty ; but such a one, as if I yield not to all that is proposed to me, I must be a close prisoner, being still under restraint. Wherefore, I must command you two things ; first, to obey all my wife's commands ; then, not to obey any public command of mine, until I let you know I am free from restraint. Lastly, be not startled at my great concessions concerning Ireland, for that

they will come to nothing. This is all at this time from,

“ Your most real, faithful, constant friend,
“ CHARLES R.”

“ Newport, in the Isle of Wight,
“ Oct. 10. 1648.”

“ ORMONDE,

“ I hope before this, mine, of the tenth of this month, will have come to your hands. I sent it by the way of France. This is not only to confirm the contents of that, but also to approve of certain commands to you ; likewise, to command you to prosecute certain instructions, until I shall, under my own hand, give you other commands. And though you will hear that this treaty is near, or at least most likely to be concluded, yet believe it not ; but pursue the way that you are in with all possible vigour. Deliver also that my command to all your friends, but not in a public way ; because, otherwise, it may be inconvenient to me, and particularly to Inchiquin. So being confident of your punctual observance of these my directions, I rest,

“ Your most real, faithful, constant friend,
“ CHARLES R.”

“ Newport, Saturday,
“ 28th Oct. 1648.”

A few days after having despatched this letter, the King, whom sundry historians declare “ incapable of dissimulation,” declared to the parliamentary commissioners, who remonstrated against Ormonde’s renewing his treaty with the Irish :—“ Since the first votes passed for the treaty (between the King and British parliament) in August, I have not transact-

ed any affairs concerning Ireland, but with you, the commissioners, in relation to the treaty itself."

The treaty with the confederates was, however, protracted by various delays, until the 16th of January 1649 ; and, before any advantage could be taken of the pacification, Charles had perished on a scaffold. It is not necessary to recount the particulars of this treaty,* which, by the King's death, became waste paper. It is sufficient to say, that it embodied the greater part of Glamorgan's concessions, and provided for the summoning of a new parliament ; until which time the power of the Lord Lieutenant was to be shared by a council, called *Commissioners of Trust*, elected by the confederates.

Thus terminated the second act of this eventful drama. The fatal catastrophe, by which it was to be terminated, could not be foreseen ; and every one rejoiced in the hope that the distractions of the country were at an end.

The wars might have been concluded long before, had any of the parties acted with vigour, consistency, or honesty. The King's notorious duplicity, manifested in every act of his Irish government, made him suspected by all. The cruelty and tyranny of Parsons, Coote, St Leger and others, prevented the confederates from laying down their arms, until sufficient security had been given for their lives and property. Ormond, avaricious and bigoted, was reluc-

* One of the articles is too curious to be omitted. It provides, " That all laws prohibiting ploughing by horse-tails, and the burning of oats in the straw (an Irish substitute for thrashing-machines), should be repealed." The reformed systems of religion and agriculture were both taught, it appears, by the comprehensive agency of penal laws.

tant to grant such security; and they themselves prevented O'Neill from obtaining it by force. The council of Kilkenny yielded to ancient prejudices, and the spleen of party. The fanaticism of Rinuccini and his associates created a new source of irreconcilable discord. And finally, O'Neill, the only man who could have saved the country, was cursed, by the support of the intolerant clergy; and, justly fearing the increase of their power, showed indecision, when promptitude was most necessary. Bitter was the penalty paid for these errors. An avenger was now at hand, who involved the foolish and the criminal in one common ruin.

END OF VOLUME FIRST.

**HISTORY
OF THE
CIVIL WARS OF IRELAND.**

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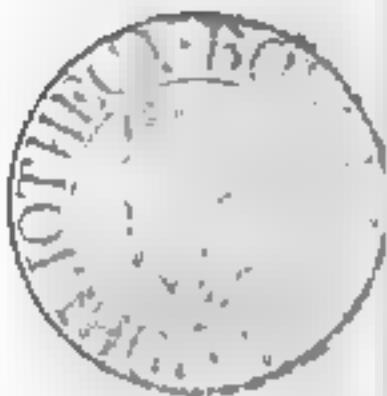


HISTORY
OF THE
CIVIL WARS OF IRELAND,
FROM THE ANGLO-NORMAN INVASION, TILL
THE UNION OF THE COUNTRY WITH
GREAT BRITAIN.

BY W. C. TAYLOR, Esq. A. B.
OF TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN.

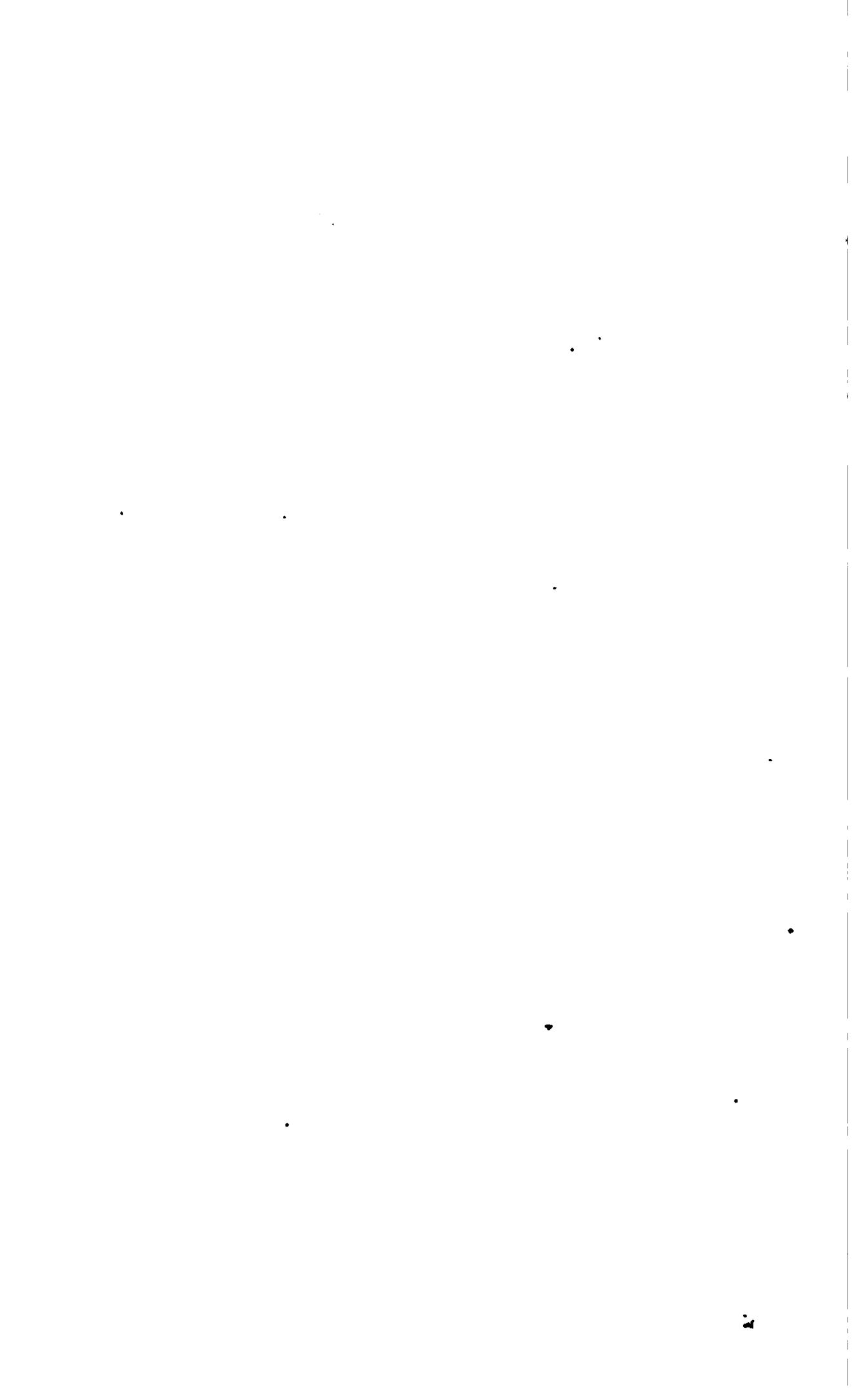
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THE
HISTORY
OF THE
CIVIL WARS OF IRELAND.

CHAPTER I.

The Cromwellian Invasion, 1649.

THE presence of the Marquis of Ormond, and the departure of Rinuccini, seemed to promise union to the distracted councils of the confederate Catholics. They had now a leader to whom the several factions had at different times tendered submission, and whom they had previously solicited to place himself at their head with almost absolute authority ; and they were freed from the intrigues of the prelate, who had at length, by his excessive arrogance, disgusted all his supporters. But the curse of divided councils still continued, or rather the evil became aggravated. The confederates hated and feared O'Neill, the person who alone could have met the able generals of the parliament, and opposed all the efforts of Or-

mond to effect a reconciliation. With much better reason, they viewed with suspicion that Royalist party, of which Inchiquin was the head, knowing that its members were fully as averse to Popery as the Puritans, and were driven into their ranks merely by their indignation at the judicial murder of the King. That Ormond was at this time disposed to act an honest part, is undeniable; but his previous conduct furnished but too good an excuse for the jealous watchfulness of the Commissioners of Trust, though not for their perverse folly in opposing plans whose wisdom they could not controvert, almost for the sake of showing the Lord Lieutenant that they possessed the power of opposition.

The principal cause of this ruinous jealousy was the scandalous duplicity of the late King, and the reckless profligacy of his heir. The Irish had been taught, by the mission of Glamorgan, that Charles was willing to grant them terms far more favourable than those offered by Ormond; they consequently viewed the Marquis as the secret enemy of their cause, and suspected that he would labour to prevent them from enjoying the royal graces. Prince Rupert, who commanded the royal fleet on the coast, encouraged these opinions; and from jealousy, or some worse motive, exerted himself strenuously to thwart the Marquis of Ormond. Had the King, as had been often proposed, proceeded to Ireland, and placed himself at the head of the confederates, these evils would have been alleviated, perhaps removed; but Charles II. possessed not the spirit for such an enterprise. He preferred the safer mode of perjury and insincerity; and therefore, having wasted his time until Ireland was lost irrecoverably, proceeded to Scotland, where he took the covenant.

The prospects of the Royalists at this time were very encouraging. The Parliamentarians retained possession only of Derry and Dublin, with some adjacent posts. Sir Charles Coote, the governor of Derry, was ready to engage with that party which had the fairest prospect of success; and a great number of the officers and soldiers in Dublin were well disposed to join Ormond, their ancient leader. One brief but vigorous effort would have saved Ireland; but those who wielded the destinies of the country were destitute of vigour or exertion.

The capture of Dublin would have ensured the Royalists the quiet possession of the kingdom; and this was accordingly the first enterprise they resolved to undertake. But such was the neglect and insincerity of all parties, that May had arrived before any active preparations were made to take the field. The subsidies promised by the council of the confederates at Kilkenny were not raised; and the Commissioners of Trust showed no anxiety to provide for the wants of the army. Ormond remonstrated in vain against this neglect; and it was late in June before that, having borrowed some small sums on his personal credit, he could muster a respectable body of troops. Fresh mortifications met him from another quarter. Prince Rupert, whom he had requested to blockade the bay of Dublin, while he pushed the siege by land, positively refused obedience, and remained with his fleet in one of the southern harbours. After a vain display of their troops before Dublin, which Ormond seems to have expected would have produced an insurrection of the Royalists in the city, it was determined to reduce the garrisons of Drogheda and Dundalk, before besieging the capital; and the conduct of this enterprise was intrusted to Lord

Inchiquin. Drogheda, after a brief siege, was taken by assault. Dundalk, though commanded by Monk, surrendered ; and several castles, which had been seized by O'Neill, were reduced by a body of the confederates under Lord Castlehaven.

Before Ormond's army could be reassembled, the garrison of Dublin was reinforced by the parliamentary Colonels Coote and Venables, with two thousand six hundred soldiers, and a large supply of provisions and ammunition. At the same time, news arrived that Cromwell, having assembled a powerful army, was preparing to sail over to Munster, where he hoped to be joined by several of the Puritans. It was indeed well known to all the leaders, that the Ultra-Protestants in Youghal, Kinsale, and Cork, were secretly inclined to favour the cause of the parliament ; for, with them, hatred of Popery was a much more powerful feeling than love of their sovereign.

A council of war was held on the receipt of this alarming intelligence ; and, after long deliberation, it was resolved to send Lord Inchiquin, with eleven hundred horse, to secure the province of Munster ! The impolicy of weakening an army already inadequate to the operations that had been undertaken, and the utter absurdity of sending such a trifling force to secure an entire province, are sufficiently obvious ; yet were the resolutions of the council not wholly indefensible. Inchiquin was regarded by the confederates with equal fear and hatred. His hands were red with the blood of their murdered brethren. His unrelenting enmity to their religion was not disguised, even while he fought in their ranks. To remove him, therefore, to a different sphere of action, was the only means by which the confederates

believed that peace could be preserved in their camp. Ormond consented to the arrangement from a different motive. He thought that the fanatics of Youghal might be kept in their loyalty, by being placed under a commander as bigoted as themselves ; and if Cromwell was excluded from the garrisoned towns, he trusted that the difficulties of the country, and an active guerilla warfare, would force him to return home.

The army of the confederates still seemed sufficient for the capture of Dublin, and was successful in reducing several important posts in the neighbourhood. The enemy, thus considerably straitened, had great difficulty in procuring forage for their horses, and could only use a meadow close to the town, which was commanded by a little village called Baggatrath. To secure and fortify this village, appeared to the besiegers the best means of distressing the garrison ; and a strong detachment under general Purcell received orders to intrench themselves there during the night. Though the detachment had not to advance more than a mile, yet, by some unaccountable mismanagement, * the guides lost their

* There is some reason to believe that this calamity was caused by treachery. The native Irish and the priesthood, with some appearance of justice, dreaded Ormond as much as Cromwell, and feared, that if he became master of Dublin, he would treat them with the same injustice that the Irish had before received from the Royalists, and were consequently unwilling to see him in a position where he would be independent of their assistance. When Riely, the titular primate, was tried four years after this by the Republicans, for burning the castle of Wicklow, and murdering the garrison during a cessation of arms, he had the impudence and profligacy to plead, that the guides led the detachment astray by his directions ; and for this piece of treachery his life was actually spared, notwithstanding the atrocity of his crimes.

way, and Purcell did not reach the ground until it was almost day-break. When Ormond came to view the works, he found that they had been scarcely begun, and that the garrison, aware of the importance of the place, was about to make a vigorous attack on his detachment. Under these circumstances, the Lord Lieutenant should either have withdrawn the troops, or brought up his whole army to cover his works. He did neither, but returned to his camp at Rathmines, and lay down to sleep ! The Marquis had not been in bed above an hour, when he was awakened by volleys of shot ; and, before he could get an hundred yards from his tent, the remains of the detachment at Baggatrath were driven into his lines. A scene of indescribable confusion followed ; Inchiquin's old soldiers threw down their arms, refusing to fight against their puritanical brethren ; the greater part of the Irish cavalry galloped from the field, without striking a blow ; two regiments alone could be formed, and they, after an inefficient charge, were broken. The infantry, surprised and badly officered, made no attempt to resist ; and the Parliamentarians, to their own great astonishment, obtained a complete victory. All the artillery, tents, baggage-carriages, together with the military chest, fell into the hands of the enemy. About three thousand prisoners were taken, several of whom were murdered in cold blood, after laying down their arms. The greater part of those who had belonged to Inchiquin's army entered into the service of the parliament.

The blame of this calamity was thrown on the Marquis by the confederates, and by him again on the Irish. It is obvious, that both were guilty of what must at least be called great errors. The delay

in fortifying Baggatrath was the first cause of the evil ; and that certainly must be attributed to the negligence or treachery of some Irish leaders. But what are we to say of the general, who went to sleep at the very moment that he saw the enemy preparing to attack his lines ?

The Marquis, wearied out by the delays and subterfuges of the confederates, applied again to O'Neill, who was as anxious as himself to put an end to the destructive dissensions between the Irish and the Lords of the Pale. But while the negotiations yet lingered, news arrived that Cromwell had landed in Dublin, with eight thousand foot, four thousand horse, two hundred thousand pounds in money, and a vast supply of all the munitions of war. It was at first intended, that Ireton should have proceeded with a part of this force to Munster ; but the wind being unfavourable, the whole fleet was forced to come into Dublin ; and Cromwell soon saw that it would be inexpedient to divide his army.

The historians of Ireland, both Protestant and Catholic, have shown a wondrous unanimity in vituperating the character of Cromwell and his followers. At this very hour, the heaviest execration which an Irish peasant can pronounce is, “ The curse of Cromwell be upon you ! ” Every mouldering castle, every prostrate altar, and every desolate place of worship, is supposed to have been ruined by the Protector, even in places which he never visited ; and on his memory is thrown the infamy of all the crimes which the Royalists and Puritans had committed, before he had even dreamed of coming to the country. This is partly owing to the artifices of those who wished to persuade the Irish, in a subsequent generation, to take up arms in defence of

the House of Stuart ; and still more to the conduct of his soldiers and their descendants, who so long swayed the destinies of Ireland. Some account of the materials which composed the invading army is necessary, for understanding the subsequent history of the island, and even its present political condition.

Cromwell, some time before his departure for Ireland, had begun to form those ambitious projects which he afterwards carried into execution. It was easy to discover, that the wild and visionary fanatics, who had been hitherto his most strenuous supporters, would be found his fiercest antagonists, when they discovered that their favourite schemes of government would not be realized. The Levellers, as these fanatics were called, from their opposition to every rational form of government, were intent on establishing a species of theocracy, which they denominated, "the dominion of the Lord and his saints." They believed themselves the chosen of heaven ; and not a few laid claim to supernatural powers. In some of the pamphlets and sermons published at the period of their highest excitement, we find them seriously proposing to make the constitution of the Jews, previous to the election of Saul, the model after which the new government of England should be formed. Such schemes would now be received with laughter, as general, and as unextinguishable, as that of Homer's gods ; but at the time of which we write, they were seriously adopted by men, who, in every other respect, displayed consummate wisdom and ability. The expedition to Ireland afforded Cromwell an opportunity of removing these bands of gloomy enthusiasts ; and the troops destined for the invasion consisted of the most violent and fan-

tical part of the English army. When the battalions were assembled at Bristol, the object of the selection that had been made could no longer be concealed ; just indignation filled the breasts of the toil-worn soldiers, and they unanimously refused to embark. The influence of Cromwell was necessary to quell this dangerous mutiny ;—he came suddenly amongst them, and all their complaints were hushed to silence. At the same time, their preachers laboured strenuously to work upon their spiritual pride. They were compared to the Israelites proceeding to extirpate the idolatrous inhabitants of Canaan ; and described as the chosen instruments by which Heaven was to overthrow the empire of Babylon, and establish in its stead the kingdom of the New Jerusalem. Arguments addressed to superstition or enthusiasm have rarely failed. The levellers embarked with an ardent zeal, that contrasted strangely with their former reluctance ; though there were, at times, some misgivings, that they were to be offered up as a holocaust, before the purification of Ireland from the abominations of Popery could be completely effected.

The puritanical garrison of Dublin received with joy men whose pious zeal far exceeded their own ; and, as enthusiasm is infectious, soon learned to imitate their extravagances. The most remarkable feature in the characters of these fanatics was a furious hatred of Popery—a religion which they only knew by name, but which they firmly believed to be an abomination in the sight of heaven, which, if permitted to exist, would bring down vengeance on the land. Their pious rage was principally directed against the cross, which they unhesitatingly stigmatized as the “mark of the beast ;” and, with strange

inconsistency, laboured to destroy every symbol of that from which alone they professed to expect salvation. * Memorials of this extraordinary state of things may still be found in the descendants of these adventurers. The misapplication of Jewish history to the circumstances of Christian communities, and a perverted ingenuity in interpreting the Apocalypse, still characterize the successors of Cromwell's Puritans. †

* A whimsical instance of similar feelings in the descendants of the Cromwellians was exhibited some few years ago in the south of Ireland. The communion-table, in the church of Youghal, stands in a recess projecting beyond the walls of the church. It was resolved to ornament the sides of the recess with stucco, and with tablets containing the creed, the commandments, &c. Unfortunately, the artist employed to execute the work introduced two crosses, as appropriate ornaments in the *bassi reliefi* arches. Had the Pope come in person to celebrate high mass in the church, greater indignation could not have been displayed by the pious Protestants of Youghal. They averred, that the image of Baal had been erected in the sanctuary, and threatened a thousand nameless desecrations, unless the obnoxious emblem was removed. After a brief struggle between common sense and bigotry, the crosses, which really looked very pretty, were effaced, and, in their place, two unmeaning lumps of plaster erected, with the words "Holy Bible" beneath—an announcement as necessary, as "This is a horse," and "This is a tree," in the infancy of painting.

There were a few who defended the crosses, and they were at once set down as Papists. Some others laughed at the entire proceeding, and were of course stigmatized as infidels.

† The following hymn, in which Babylon typifies the church of Rome, is frequently sung in the public worship of some sectarians. I have been unable to discover the date, or the author of the sublime production.

" In Gabriel's hand a mighty stone,
Stands a fair type of Babylon ;
Prophets rejoice, and all ye saints,
God shall avenge your long complaints."

It is a strange instance of the vicissitudes of fortune, that the soldiers sent into Ireland as victims, eventually obtained wealth and estates, while their brethren, retained in England by special favour, sunk, after the Restoration, into poverty and contempt. The Levellers established their dominion over the fairest parts of Ireland, and wrested from the descendants of the Anglo-Normans, the broad lands which their ancestors had acquired under the Plantagenets. Few of the estates acquired by the followers of Strongbow and Henry II. were preserved to their posterity; but the great majority of the wealthy and noble families now in Ireland were founded by those veterans whom Cromwell led into the country.

The charge of sanguinary cruelty brought against the Cromwellian army, is not true to the great extent which has been charged. Though there were in the army several officers as cruel as the blood-thirsty Sankey, who seemed to revel in slaughter, there were others who possessed more humane feelings, and laboured to restrain such barbarous excesses, as breaches of quarter and murders in cold blood. It may also serve, in some measure, to excuse the Cromwellians, that they firmly believed that the civil war was actually a contest for establishing Popery in Ireland, and massacring all the Protestants and all the English. They consequently looked upon all Papists as men beyond the pale of the

“ He said, and dreadful as he stood,
He plunged the millstone in the flood ;
• Thus terribly shall Babel fall,
And never more be found at all ! ”

The author assures his readers, that he has very frequently heard this precious piece of nonsense sung as a hymn in several Dissenting chapels in Ireland.

law of nations, and not entitled to the protection afforded by the usages of civilized warfare. Sankey indeed openly avowed, that "no faith ought to be kept with Papists;" and was with difficulty prevented by Ireton from acting on this detestable maxim. These feelings were kept alive in succeeding years by traditionary songs, in which the history of the crimes committed by the Papists were detailed with as little regard to truth as poetry, but which, in an age not yet quite gone by, were honoured with more reverence than could be afforded to the strains of Milton and Shakespeare.*

The opinions of the Cromwellians respecting the connection between Ireland and England, though sufficiently strange and absurd, were such as were

* Two brief specimens of these will be sufficient, as a collection of the Irish Jacobite Relics is about to be published by a gentleman who has already done much to preserve the traditionary literature of his country. One commences with the following delectable stanza.

" A curse upon the papishes !
Because they did conspire,
To blow up king and parliament,
With gun and gunpowd're. "

The rhymes of another are scarcely less whimsical.

" In the reign of King Charles the First,
Look back to the year forty-one,
When thousands that lie in the dust,
Were murdered by the clan. "

The seventeenth century produced one loyal stave which may match with the preceding.

" Row de dow dow,
The French are a coming ;
Lock up your doors,
And bury your money. "

acted upon by the most enlightened statesmen during the early part of the last century. They believed that the PEOPLE of England had absolute right and authority over Ireland ; and consequently, that any resistance to whatever government had been established in Britain, was an act of rebellion. The Irish were now in arms for their King against the Parliament ; but by this curious argument it was established, that loyalty to the sovereign was identical with treason. By a similar process of reasoning, the forfeiture of the estates of those who supported their rightful monarch, James II., against the Prince of Orange, was justified. But the Irish Parliament of that day improved on the principle, and decreed several confiscations for acts of what they called treason, committed on the very day that William landed in Torbay.

CHAPTER II.

The Cromwellian War.

CROMWELL having waited some time in Dublin, to refresh his army, and to settle the civil and military government, he then determined to besiege Drogheda, then called Tredagh, and advanced against the place at the head of ten thousand men. The town was garrisoned by Sir A. Aston, with two thousand picked soldiers and a regiment of horse, besides several volunteers. On coming before the town, Cromwell sent a formal summons to the governor, which was peremptorily rejected, and a blockade accordingly commenced. The besiegers were delayed some time by the want of artillery; but when the cannon arrived from Dublin, they opened a tremendous fire from their batteries, which the walls of Drogheda were unable to resist. A practicable breach was soon effected, but the attempt at storming was twice repulsed with great slaughter. Cromwell rallied his men to a third effort, and placed himself at their head. The resistance was vigorous; but the Irish Colonel Wall, being killed at the head of his regiment, his soldiers were so dismayed that they threw down their arms on the promise of quarter, and the Parliamentarians forced their way into

the town. Though quarter had been promised by his officers, Cromwell refused to ratify the agreement, and ordered the garrison to be put to the sword. The inhuman massacre was continued during the two following days. Thirty of the brave defenders of Drogheda alone survived; and these, by a dubious mercy, were sold as slaves to the plantations.

The excuse for this atrocious barbarity, was the necessity of striking immediate terror into the Irish, in order to prevent them from future opposition. It failed, as such detestable policy always must; and, had Owen O'Neill lived, the effect would have been the direct contrary.

Wearied out by the follies and jealousies of the confederates, who seemed determined to do nothing for their own preservation, and to prevent all others from effecting it as far as they could, Ormond hastened to conclude his treaty with O'Neill; and that leader put his army in motion to join the Royalists. He ordered the general who commanded his advanced guard to avoid an engagement when there was not an absolute certainty of success, and to trust to the passes and the season, which would defeat Cromwell without trouble or risk. But, while the Ulster general was advancing with his main body to the south, he was attacked by a defluxion of the knees, a disease said to have been occasioned by a pair of poisoned boots, prepared for him by one Plunket, an agent of the confederates. Notwithstanding his sickness, O'Neill would not allow the march of the army to be retarded, and was conveyed in a litter at the head of his men. The motion, however, aggravated the disease, and he died at Clough Outer Castle. With O'Neill perished the

last hope of the Irish cause, for he alone would have been a fit match for Cromwell. His death, at such a crisis, is probably the principal ground for the suspicion of poison. It was an event decisive of the fate of the kingdom. Few leaders, in ancient or modern times, merit the epithet of hero better than Owen O'Neill. He left rank, station, and command abroad, to assist his countrymen in their struggle for their rights and properties. He was successful in all his enterprises; and he never sullied his laurels by treachery, cruelty, or inhumanity. His only error was, that he did not treat the council of Kilkenny as Cromwell afterwards did the British Parliament, by dispersing, at the point of the bayonet, an imbecile assembly, whose folly and stubbornness was manifestly accelerating the ruin of the country. But O'Neill was too nobly minded to effect even a good purpose by criminal means; and his virtues served to injure the cause which he supported, since a reverence for good faith kept him from taking the only measures which would ensure its success.

Cromwell had in the meantime received accurate information of the dissensions which distracted the counsels of the confederates, and hastened to reap the advantages of their folly. He sent Venables into the north to reduce the Ulster Scots, or rather, to support that portion of them which was inclined to favour his designs. He himself, with the main body of the army, advanced along the sea-coast, through the county of Wicklow, attended by the fleet to supply his men with provisions. Before leaving Dublin, he issued two proclamations, which were of greater value than double the number of victories. One forbade his soldiers, under pain of death, to

offer any injury to the peaceable inhabitants ; the other strictly enjoined that payment should be made for all provisions supplied by the peasants. No previous invader had thought fit to conciliate the peasantry by promising justice and protection. The Royalist army, especially that portion commanded by Inchiquin, had treated the country people with studied injury and insult. Even the confederates, proud of their Norman descent, seized the property of the tillers of the soil without scruple. From this time forward, the opinion began to gain ground that Cromwell was more favourably disposed towards the native Irish, than the Royalists under Ormond and Inchiquin, or the descendants of the original invaders who sat in the council of Kilkenny. As far as Cromwell was personally concerned, this belief seems not to have been groundless ; but even he was not sufficiently powerful to check the intolerant hatred of Popery, which, like a popular frenzy, had seized on the people of England ; and he continued to act unjustly, when an attempt to do justice would have accomplished no good purpose, and might probably have caused his own destruction.

The Marquis of Ormond was in the meantime doomed to feel the evil effects of that want of confidence which his own insincerity had occasioned. The Commissioners of Trust watched his every motion with galling jealousy. The cities, suspicious of his designs, denied admittance to his garrisons, though the enemy had advanced almost to their walls ; and he had not the power of removing from the most important garrisons those governors, whose treachery or incapacity was all but proved. Cromwell, too, like Philip of Macedon, had learned the art of " fighting with silver spears," and found too

many ready to sacrifice their honour and their country for a paltry bribe. But it is ever thus in a nation divided by parties ; no man feels that universal love for *all* his countrymen which forms the very essence of patriotism ; and many, even without a bribe, will be found ready to inflict remediless evils on their country and themselves, for the mere purpose of spitting their political antagonists. There are few countries which cannot furnish examples of this criminal folly, but none more abundantly than Ireland.

In the beginning of October, Cromwell, with nine thousand men, sat down before Wexford : he would not at such a season have ventured to besiege so important a place, if he had not had some reason to depend on those within the town, who were disaffected to Ormond and the confederates. In fact, the partisans of the nuncio through the kingdom, were so filled with hatred against the council of Kilkenny, that they were determined to make Cromwell the instrument of their revenge, even though such conduct necessarily involved their own destruction. The town was invested on both sides before the inhabitants could be persuaded to receive a Royalist garrison.

Ormond succeeded in supplying Wexford with a sufficient number of troops for its defence, and intrusted the command of the town to Sir E. Butler, an officer of great merit ; but, unfortunately, he was too much under the control of the Commissioners of Trust, to displace Strafford, the governor of the castle, though he had strong reason to suspect his fidelity. Scarcely had Cromwell opened his batteries, on a remote quarter of the town, when Strafford betrayed the castle to the besiegers ; and as there was no time to cut off the communication, the capture of the town was the necessary consequence. The horrors of Droghe-

da were renewed at Wexford. Cromwell forbade his soldiers to give quarter—an inhumanity the more remarkable, as his own men had suffered but little loss. The governor and some others attempted to escape by swimming their horses over the Slaney. A few succeeded ; the rest, among whom was Sir E. Butler, were drowned. The loss of Wexford was a severe shock to Ormond ; it was totally unexpected, and deranged all his plans. He had calculated that such a siege would have delayed Cromwell's army for several weeks, and that, in the meantime, he could procure such reinforcements from Ulster and Munster, as would make him more than a match for the Parliamentary army, enfeebled by fatigue, and the diseases incident to the season. Nor was this the only mortification he was doomed to experience. He learned at the same time, that Coote and Venables had reduced the greater part of Eastern Ulster ; and that, in the south, a conspiracy had been detected for betraying Youghal to the Parliamentarians.

The disaffection in the southern towns was principally owing to the contrivances of Lord Broghill, the fifth son of the great Earl of Cork, who inherited all his father's abilities, but a very small share of his integrity and honourable principle. He was born at his father's seat, the college of Youghal, and educated in the strict principles of the Puritans—a colony of whom, from Bristol, had been planted in the town by his father. At the commencement of the war with the confederates, he was placed at the head of the troops which his father had raised among his own tenantry ; and displayed equal ability and valour in the field. After the peace of 1646, he withdrew himself from Irish affairs, being indignant at the legal toleration of Popery, which he believed to

be both dangerous and sinful. He continued, however, to correspond with Ormond, whose real sentiments accorded with his own ; and at his instigation, undertook a journey to Holland, in order to persuade King Charles to come in person to Ireland. It was necessary for him to pass through London, in his way ; but he had not been long in that city, when he was astonished by a personal visit from Cromwell, then preparing for his Irish expedition. Cromwell informed his Lordship that all his plans had been betrayed to the council of state, and orders issued for his arrest ; but that he, out of respect for his Lordship's character, had interfered, and obtained permission to gain him over, if possible, to the side of the parliament. Little persuasion was necessary ; Broghill consented to serve under Cromwell, against his former associates ; and on his arrival in Ireland, easily raised a strong force among the retainers of his family. Connected from his earliest infancy with the Puritans in Munster, he speedily opened a communication with the officers of the different garrisons in the south ; and they were now ready to embrace the first opportunity of breaking off, what they deemed their unholy alliance, with the confederate Catholics.

So alarmed were the Commissioners of Trust by the loss of Wexford, that they determined to abandon Kilkenny, and were with difficulty dissuaded from such a scandalous flight by Ormond. The Marquis behaved in this emergency with greater promptitude and ability than he had yet displayed ; and he was zealously seconded by Lord Castlehaven, the only one of the confederate Catholics that reposed confidence in the Lord Lieutenant. He strengthened the garrisons of Duncannon and Ross, re-

moving from the former Roche the governor, a creature of the Commissioners, and intrusting the latter to Lord Taaffe, whose abilities he overrated. The Commissioners of Trust took fire at these attempts of the Marquis to shake off their authority, and insisted that Roche should be restored, though he candidly declared himself inadequate to the situation. But the Marquis found means to elude the unreasonable demand ; and Wogan, whom he had appointed, was permitted to continue. Soon after, several detachments from O'Neill's army joined the confederate forces ; but a great part of the main body dispersed after the death of their gallant leader, and never afterwards reassembled.

Cromwell undertook the siege of Ross in person, while a detachment, commanded by his son-in-law Ireton, attacked Duncannon. Ross was surrendered, after the cannon had played twenty-four hours against its walls, through the cowardice or incapacity of Lord Taaffe. The garrison obtained honourable terms, being permitted to retire with their arms and baggage to Kilkenny. The Royalists soon after received a severe check from the treachery of some of their leaders. Information was received of a convoy from Dublin, which might easily be intercepted ; and Inchiquin was intrusted with the command of a detachment for the purpose. But the plan was betrayed as soon as formed to the Parliamentarians, and Inchiquin's attack repulsed with loss.

Some compensation for these losses was derived from the success of the confederates at Duncannon. The fort was invested only on the land side ; and Lord Castlehaven ventured to cross the estuary on which it stands in an open boat, to consult with the

governor. His Lordship having viewed the situation of the besiegers, strenuously recommended a sally, and offered to send over eighty horses to mount the picked men of the garrison for the purpose. Wogan approved of the proposal, but doubted the practicability of sending the horses, as the distance to the county of Waterford was at least three miles, and several parliamentary ships lay in the bay. Castlehaven, however, resolved to make the attempt, and returned to his quarters for the purpose. Luckily the tide became favourable exactly at sunset, and the horses were ferried over in safety without being discovered. At daybreak Wogan made a sally. Ireton's army, knowing that there had been no cavalry in the fort, believed that they were attacked by some new forces, and fled in such confusion, that part of their artillery was left behind.

After the capture of Ross, Cromwell began to lay a bridge of boats over the Barrow, in order to effect a passage into the county of Kilkenny; but when the work was nearly completed, he suddenly changed his mind, and determined to besiege Waterford. The inhabitants of this city had been the most devoted partisans of the nuncio, and were consequently bitterly opposed to the Lord Lieutenant and the council of Kilkenny. Even the approach of Cromwell was insufficient to cure them of their insane jealousies; for they obstinately refused to admit a garrison, and treated Lord Castlehaven, who had been appointed governor by Ormond, with such disrespect, that he was compelled to quit the town. The sight of Cromwell's army, however, alarmed them so much, that they solicited Ormond to send the garrison which they had before rejected, and he immediately led his army to their relief. On the march,

it was proposed by some of the leaders to attack Carrick-on-Suir, which had been seized by one of Cromwell's detachments, in order to secure the communication of the advancing army with its resources. Ormond opposed this as a useless delay ; but his opinion was overruled by the council of war, and a detachment under Inchiquin was ordered to attack the place. Ormond arrived before Waterford about eight in the evening ; and, having sent for the Mayor and Aldermen, informed them that he had brought General Ferral to their assistance with fifteen hundred men. As Ferral had served under O'Neill, and was consequently one of the nuncio's party, he was received without any opposition ; and the Marquis having accomplished his design, set out on his return that very night. In the morning he approached Carrick, which he expected to have found in the possession of his friends ; but on his road he was met by Colonel Power, who informed him that Inchiquin had given up the enterprise for want of implements to break the walls—a resolution the more unfortunate, as we learn, from Ludlow's Memoirs, that the place was garrisoned only by a few dragoons, armed with swords and pistols.

The Lord Lieutenant concentrated his forces at Clonmel, and determined to raise the siege of Waterford, but could not prevail upon the Commissioners of Trust to provide provisions for the army. He marched, therefore, with only a part of the army to Waterford by night, and reached a hill within sight of Cromwell's camp early on the following morning. From thence he saw the Parliamentary army in full retreat, and in such confusion, that an attack upon their rear must have been successful. But to effect this, it was necessary that his troops should pass

through the city ; and the corporation, whose insolence had returned with the prospect of security, refused him admission, until the golden opportunity was irretrievably lost.

On the return of the Marquis to Clonmel, he had the mortification to witness the discovery of an intrigue, the most disgraceful and injurious that can be imagined. Though the nuncio had departed, the leaders of the Roman Catholic clergy had not resigned all hopes of establishing a hierarchy in Ireland ; and believing that Ormond was the greatest impediment to this consummation, they laboured secretly, but strenuously, to counteract his measures. From the number of these ecclesiastical agitators, the titular bishop of Clogher must be excepted. Though originally the most violent supporter of the nuncio, he had formed, on closer acquaintance, such a high opinion of Ormond's talents, and was so firmly persuaded that his presence was necessary to the salvation of the country, that he directed all his energies to the reestablishment of the Lord Lieutenant's authority. We have already mentioned some of the evils that had arisen from Lord Antrim's desire of obtaining the government. Disappointed in his hopes of obtaining the appointment from the King, he now intrigued with every party, and shunned no act of treachery or meanness that was likely to assist him in effecting his object. He opened a communication with Cromwell by means of his confessor, and encouraged him to make the successful attempt on Wexford ; he instigated the citizens of Waterford to refuse a garrison, declaring that the soldiers were resolved to betray the city ; and he laboured to persuade the violent Catholic party, already well disposed to such a belief, that Inchiquin was secretly

in league with the parliament, and had entered into a treaty for the ruin of the confederates. He produced a forged instrument, purporting to be articles of agreement between Inchiquin and Jones, the parliamentary governor of Dublin, and letters from Jones directed to Inchiquin, which he pretended to have intercepted. After having done all the mischief in his power at Waterford, Antrim determined to excite similar sedition at Limerick; but, on his way, he was met by Inchiquin at Clonmel, who stopped him, and demanded satisfaction for his infamous calumnies. Courage formed no part of Antrim's redeeming qualities; he refused to fight, but made the only other reparation in his power, by confessing the forgery in presence of the Lord Lieutenant and the Commissioners of Trust. Ormond was too timid to bring the infamous wretch to trial; for he had too much reason to believe, that his punishment would be attributed to political hostility; and thus Antrim remained at liberty to contrive fresh machinations. Inchiquin transmitted a copy of Antrim's confession to Jones, with a letter demanding an explanation of his conduct; but Jones, about this time, died of the plague, and so the matter ended.

After raising the siege of Waterford, Cromwell found his forces in a very dangerous situation: they were in the midst of a hostile and difficult country, destitute of quarters during an inclement season, unable to advance, and exposed to be attacked at great disadvantage if they attempted to retreat. But from all these difficulties he was at once relieved, by the sudden revolt of the Puritans in the south-east of Munster. Taking advantage of Inchiquin's absence, Lord Broghill proceeded towards the southern

garrisons with a small detachment, and met no opposition. Youghal, Kinsale, Bandon, and even Cork, opened their gates. Dungarvan was taken after a slight resistance ; and thus, at the moment of utmost need, Cromwell obtained excellent winter-quarters, and the means of direct communication with England.

This revolt increased the jealousy which subsisted between the different parties in the Irish army ; the confederates suspected all the royalist Protestants of favouring Cromwell, and preferring the indulgence of religious intolerance to the preservation of their loyalty ; the native Irish extended their suspicions to all of English descent, and deemed themselves the objects of incurable hatred to all the Anglo-Irish confederates, whether Protestant or Catholic. The towns were confirmed in their obstinate resolution not to receive garrisons. Kilkenny, from old associations indeed, submitted to obey Ormond ; and Clonmel was prevailed upon to admit Hugh O'Neill with a body of Ulster men ; but Waterford continued to refuse obedience, and would not even permit soldiers to pass through the city. As it had now become a frontier garrison, Ormond was anxious to prevail on the civic authorities to change their mad resolutions, and went in person with his army to try the effect of remonstrance. On his arrival, he found General Ferral preparing to make an attack on the fort of Passage, which Cromwell had taken and garrisoned while besieging the city. Ormond could only obtain admittance for himself and his immediate retinue. He proceeded to an eminence, whence he could command a view of Ferral's operations ; and he had not been there long when he saw a body of horse marching towards the fort,

in such good order that he could not doubt but that Ferral's designs had been discovered, and his regiment in danger of destruction. Ormond immediately sent for the mayor, pointed out to him the danger to which the governor was exposed, and entreated permission to lead some regiments through the town to his assistance. It will scarcely be credited, but it is not the less true, that the civic authorities, though they distinctly saw the danger to which so large a portion of the garrison was exposed, peremptorily refused a passage to a force sufficient to avert the calamity! Ormond having supplicated in vain, advanced, with a few of his retainers and some personal friends, to cover Ferral's retreat. He had not advanced more than a few miles, when he met the detachment flying in confusion. He drew up his followers, about fifty in number, on the side of a hill, so judiciously, that the enemy, believing that a considerable reinforcement had arrived, gave over the pursuit. The fort of Passage was a place of too much importance to be neglected. It commanded the harbour of Waterford, and enabled the Parliamentarians to intercept the commerce of the city. Ormond, therefore, solicited permission to quarter his forces in huts outside the wall, and offered, in return, to reduce the fort. But the citizens replied, that they would rather endure all the inconveniences resulting from its remaining in possession of the enemy, than incur the hazard of starvation, by providing provisions for the royal army. Ormond, unable to overcome their obstinacy, distributed his soldiers into winter-quarters, and never was able to assemble them again.

The winter was spent by the Parliamentarians in active preparations for the ensuing campaign, and

by the Irish in idle disputation. Antrim made an effort to obtain from the synod of the Irish clergy a declaration against the Marquis of Ormond's continuance in the government, and would have succeeded but for the exertions of the Bishop of Clogher. He also failed in an effort to obtain from the King the chief government of Ireland, though his pretensions were supported by Prince Rupert. Charles, with more honour than he usually exhibited, declared that he would rather lose the kingdom than offer an insult to the Marquis of Ormond. But these intrigues so weakened the authority of the Lord Lieutenant, that he began to despair. He wrote to the King, stating the circumstances of his situation, and entreating the royal permission to retire, if he should find himself still prevented from doing any thing effectual for the royal cause.

CHAPTER III.

The Cromwellian War concluded.

A. D. 1650.—In the month of January, Cromwell opened his second campaign, by advancing against Kilkenny, which Colonel Tickle had promised to betray into his hands. Before his arrival, however, the plot was discovered, and the traitor deservedly put to death. Cromwell consequently was forced to retire; but he employed his soldiers no less profitably, in reducing several important castles and towns in the counties of Kilkenny and Tipperary. Ormond now saw, that his only hope of raising an army rested on the provinces of Connaught and Ulster; for such a spirit of fear had seized on the gentry in Leinster, that there was not a single castle in which either the governor or his wife was not anxious to make terms with the Parliamentary general. Having intrusted the government of Leinster to Lord Castlehaven, Ormond proceeded into Connaught, to consult with the Marquis of Clanricarde and the Catholic bishops. Castlehaven vigorously exerted himself for the defence of the province, but was badly supported by the confederates. Several opportunities were afforded him of obtaining decisive advantages over Cromwell's detachments, but he could not avail him.

self of them for want of troops, the Lords of the Pale having failed to send their promised contingents. He succeeded, however, in taking Athy, which Cromwell had fortified as a dépôt, by storm, and sent the prisoners to the Parliamentary camp, requesting that his men should be treated with like civility on a similar occasion. But Cromwell cared little about civility; for having taken Callan and Gowran a few days after, he ordered the officers to be shot.

The greater part of the county of Tipperary, including the towns of Cashel and Fethard,* with the

* Ludlow, whose account of all the transactions in Ireland before he came to the country is singularly inaccurate, says, that the corporation of Fethard sent deputies to surrender the town, before Cromwell thought of approaching it. The present inhabitants of the town believe, that it was not taken until after an obstinate siege. Both opinions are wrong, as will be seen by the following documents.

Cromwell, after taking Cashel, marched to Fethard, and, arriving before the town late in the evening, sent a trumpet to summon the governor. He received the following reply:—

“ For Oliver Cromwell, General of the Parliament forces now in Ireland.

“ MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,

“ I have received your letter about nine of the clock this night, which hour I conceive to be unseasonable for me to treat with you; yet, if your Lordship pleases to send sufficient hostages in for such as I will employ to treat with you, I will be ready to entrust some in that business. Having no more at present, I remain,

“ Your honour’s friend and servant,

“ PIERCE BUTLER.”

“ From the garrison of Fethard,

Feb. 2. 16⁴⁵, half an hour after nine of the clock at night.”

The articles of surrender were signed the following morning at six o’clock, and the Parliamentary garrison admitted before

castle of Cahir, † yielded to Cromwell without opposition.

Encouraged by these successes, Cromwell laid siege to Kilkenny, the garrison of which was greatly weakened by the plague. The governor, Sir Walter Butler, made a gallant defence; and, after a breach had been made, twice repulsed the attempt of the enemy to storm the town. Cromwell was about to retire, when he received a message from the civic authorities, assuring him that they were anxious for a surrender. A third assault was made; and defeated; but Ireton coming up with fresh for-

eight. The articles secure the inhabitants protection in person and property, and permit the garrison to retire with all the honours of war, and with their horses, arms and baggage.

† Cahir was held by Captain Matthews, who had married the Dowager-Baroness; and, from the strength of its position; a fierce resistance was expected. Cromwell, however, sent Matthews what he called "a thundering summons," which produced an instantaneous effect. The following is a copy:—

" To Captain Matthews, commanding the Castle of Cahir.
" SIR,

" Having brought the army and cannon before this place, according to my usual manner in summoning places, I thought fit to offer you terms honourable for soldiers, that you may march away with your baggage, arms and colours, free from injury or violence; but if I be, notwithstanding, necessitated to bend my cannon upon you, you must expect what is usual in such cases. To avoid blood, this is offered you by

" Your servant,
" O. CROMWELL."

" For the Governor of Cahir Castle,
Feb. 24. 16⁴⁹/₅."

Matthews stipulated for the security of his wife's jointure and his own private property, in addition to the other usual terms; and, his demands being granted, surrendered within an hour after receiving the summons.

ces, and Castlehaven having declared by letter that he could not afford assistance, the governor made a signal for a parley, which led to a cessation of arms. Cromwell granted the garrison the most honourable conditions, and, as they marched out, complimented the officers and soldiers highly on their gallant defence; he also declared that, but for the treachery of the civic authorities, he would have raised the siege.

From Kilkenny, Cromwell marched against Clonmel, which was garrisoned by Hugh O'Neill, a commander worthy of his illustrious name, and fifteen hundred of the Ulster soldiery. His summons having been rejected with scorn, he opened his trenches early in April, and soon made a practicable breach. The first attempt to storm was defeated with so much slaughter, that the infantry refused to advance a second time, and Cromwell was forced to appeal to the cavalry. Lieutenant Henry Langley and several other officers of horse gallantly volunteered; the private troopers followed the example of their officers, and a second storming party was formed under the command of Colonel Culin. The second assault was so fierce, that the Irish were driven from the breach; but O'Neill had by this time erected a new wall at the head of the street, which the breach faced, and lined the adjacent houses with musketry. The assailants were unable to overcome this new obstacle. Culin and several others fell. Langley's left hand was cut off by a blow of a scythe; and the greater part of the detachment was either killed or wounded. In these two assaults, Cromwell lost more than two thousand of his best soldiers. He would not venture on a third; but changed the siege into a blockade, and determined to wait the slow effects of famine. O'Neill soon began to feel the

want of ammunition and provision, of which his supply had been originally but scanty; and sent the most pressing entreaties to the Marquis of Ormond to hasten to his assistance.

Ormond was desirous to afford early relief to the gallant garrison of Clonmel, and directed Lord Castleconnel and the Sheriff to raise the county of Limerick. The gentry of the county met, and agreed to raise three hundred horse and eleven hundred foot; but this was prevented by the Commissioners of Trust, who declared, that such a mode of proceeding was contrary to etiquette! Castleconnel appointed another day of meeting, and wrote to the Commissioners for instructions; but they were content with their success in controlling the authority of the Lord Lieutenant, and did not vouchsafe to send an answer. The gentlemen of Limerick, not knowing how to act, separated, and Clonmel was thus abandoned to its fate.

Ormond next applied to Lord Roche, who commanded in the western part of the county of Cork; and that nobleman, being aided by the titular Bishop of Ross, soon raised a considerable force, so far as regards numbers; but badly armed, and wholly without discipline. Against these Cromwell detached Lord Broghill, with a select body of troops, who easily routed the raw levies. Lord Roche and the greater part of his forces escaped through the mountains and morasses; but the Bishop remained a prisoner. There was a fort near the field of battle, which Broghill was anxious to secure; and he offered the prelate his life, if he would prevail upon the garrison to surrender; but threatened instant execution, if he refused compliance. The Bishop, having pledged his word to return, went to the fort, and, as

sembling the soldiers, earnestly conjured them to be faithful to their King, their country, and their God ; — he then returned to Broghill, and was immediately hanged. This instance of pure fidelity and devoted heroism is described as the extreme of insolence and obstinacy, by those who could discover no merit in an Irishman and a Papist.

O'Neill, having defended Clonmel until his last charge of powder was exhausted, withdrew his men from the town during the night, without being discovered ; and Cromwell, not aware of the escape of the garrison, granted the inhabitants very favourable conditions. The articles were signed on the 10th of May ; and Cromwell immediately afterwards proceeded to Youghal, and embarked for England, where his presence was eagerly desired, in consequence of the arrival of Charles II. in Scotland.

The royal cause in Ireland soon became hopeless. There was no necessity for Ireton, who succeeded Cromwell, to make any exertion, for the factions were fast destroying each other. Castlehaven, when on the point of gaining a decisive victory in Connaught, saw his hopes frustrated and his safety endangered, by the cowardice or treachery of Captain Fox, who not only ran away with his own troop, but persuaded others to follow his example. His Lordship, indeed, executed the miserable wretch ; but the loss that he had occasioned was irreparable. In the north, the Bishop of Clogher, being chosen General of the Ulster army, had the temerity to attack Sir Charles Coote, though superior in number, and very advantageously posted. He was, of course, defeated, his forces routed with great slaughter, and he himself taken prisoner. It need scarcely be added, that he was hanged by the conquerors ; for the

Cromwellians never spared an ecclesiastic. In Leinster, the principal castles had been surrendered, and the governors of the few remaining were about to make terms with the Puritans. Castlehaven proposed, that the Bishops should denounce a sentence of excommunication against all those who betrayed their country, by entering into compositions with the enemy ; but the prelates reserved excommunications for a different purpose.

Ormond now prepared to quit the kingdom, and informed the Catholic synod of his intentions. The Commissioners of Trust, aware of the confusion which his departure would occasion, entreated him to change his resolution, and promised to use their utmost endeavours to re-establish his authority. The Marquis was persuaded to continue for some time longer ; but found the Commissioners unable, and not very willing, to perform their engagements. The city of Limerick was now become the centre of the country still possessed by the Irish ; for, on the eastern side of the kingdom, Waterford alone held out against the Parliament. The Marquis was consequently anxious to make Limerick the seat of government, and to ensure its safety by a sufficient garrison. But the civic authorities and the citizens absolutely refused obedience to his commands, and even meditated to seize his person. By the interference of the Commissioners of Trust, the mayor and aldermen were induced to promise a more submissive behaviour ; but when the Lord Lieutenant approached the city, he learned that a tumultuous mob, headed by a friar named Wolfe, had seized on the keys of the gates, and called in Colonel O'Brien, with some irregular troops, to their assistance. In the midst of these tumults, Iratton approached so near

as to cause some alarm ; and the citizens requested, that Hugh O'Neill should be appointed their governor. The Marquis desired to employ O'Neill in a much more important business ;—he designed to send him into Ulster, to rally the remnant of the Bishop of Clogher's army, and to raise new recruits in a province that had been always devoted to his family. But the danger threatening Limerick appeared so imminent, that the Marquis complied with the request of the citizens, and appointed O'Neill to the command.

The friars and monks had, from the very commencement, been devoted to the cause of the nuncio ; and they preached every where, that the calamities which afflicted the kingdom, arose from the neglect of his advice, and the little regard shown to the interests of their holy religion. One of these incendiaries had even the audacity to seize the colours of a regiment that was marching by orders of the general, and to denounce damnation against all who proceeded further. The officers remonstrated indignantly, but the superstitious soldiers threw down their arms and dispersed. The regular clergy by no means joined in these excesses, but they found on this, as on other occasions, that the mob is more easily led by the fanatics of the several monastic orders, than by their own parochial ministers.

The bishops believed that Ormond was secretly negotiating with Cromwell ; and it must be confessed that they had some grounds for the suspicion. He had terminated his former administration by betraying Dublin to the Parliamentarians for a stipulated price ; and the agent whom he sent to negotiate with Cromwell during the siege of Clonmel had, on his return, brought back passes for the

Lord Lieutenant and Inchiquin. Several of the prelates, also, had adopted the nuncio's design of transferring the kingdom of Ireland to some Catholic prince; and deeming Ormond the greatest obstacle to its execution, successfully laboured to make him odious to the populace. A synod was held at Jamestown in the beginning of August, where, after long debates, the bishops resolved to send a deputation to Ormond, requiring "that he would speedily quit the kingdom, and leave his Majesty's authority in the hands of some person, faithful to the King, and trusty to the nation, and such as the affections and confidence of the people would follow." They also signed "a declaration against the continuance of his Majesty's authority in the Lord Lieutenant," and "a solemn excommunication" against all who should adhere to him, by giving him any subsidy, contribution or intelligence, or by obeying his commands.

This alone was wanting to complete the utter ruin of the Irish cause. It was in vain that the Commissioners of Trust remonstrated, and declared the fatal consequences of this strange declaration. It was in vain that some of the prelates, alarmed by the approach of Coote and Ireton to Athlone, begged that the documents should be suppressed, at least for a time. They were published in Limerick and Galway, which had long since withdrawn their allegiance from the Lord Lieutenant. In spite of the general resistance, they were proclaimed at the head of Clanricarde's forces, the only semblance of an army which the Irish still retained. The summer was wasted in long and tedious negotiations with the prelates; and it seems probable that the declaration would have been withdrawn, but for the intelligence

which was received from Scotland. Before landing in that country, Charles II. had, with shameless perjury, sworn to observe "the Solemn League and Covenant." But his crime brought its own punishment; for he had no sooner arrived than he found himself a mere tool in the hands of the Presbyterian faction. He was compelled to publish a declaration, denouncing the peace which Ormond had concluded with the Irish, acknowledging the sinfulness of forming any compact with Papists, and revoking all commissions granted by the Lord Lieutenant. The Bishops now declared, that as the King had placed Ireland out of his protection, they had nothing to do but to return to their old act of association.

While the Royalists were thus engaged, Ireton was ranging over the entire kingdom at his pleasure. Waterford was surrendered by Preston, the governor; Duncannon fell almost without resistance; and the castle of Carlow was captured after a brief struggle. Detachments from the English army partially blockaded Limerick, and seized the most important strongholds in the country. The Marquis of Clanricarde made an attempt to relieve Birr, but was defeated with great loss; and this action terminated the campaign. Three-fourths of the kingdom were now in possession of the Parliamentarians, to their own great astonishment. They had won no victory, and yet they had conquered a nation. Such were the dire effects of the violence of party, and the turbulence of faction.

As a last resource, Ormond convoked a general assembly at Loughrea, in the middle of November. It was attended by the principal nobility, gentry, and clergy, the majority of whom were averse to the late destructive proceedings at Jamestown. But the influence of the factious prelates was too great to allow

of a speedy decision. The Marquis having waited for a counter declaration until December, at length embarked in a frigate provided for him by the Duke of York, and accompanied by Lord Inchiquin, Colonel Wogan, and some others, sailed for France. Before the vessel had quite left the shore, a deputation arrived from the assembly at Loughrea, bearing a declaration which, though not perfectly satisfactory, gave some hopes of future improvement; and Ormond, in consequence, transferred his power to the Marquis of Clanricarde.

Even now the Irish cause might have prevailed, if the factions could be persuaded to lay aside their violence. Clanricarde was a Catholic nobleman, deservedly popular, a devoted Royalist, and a prudent statesman. But the Bishops having removed Ormond, began further to develop their scheme of a hierarchy, and proposed that the government should be administered without any reference to the Royal authority. A very curious negotiation was commenced with the Duke of Lorraine, who had been persuaded by some unknown person that he might be able to acquire the kingdom of Ireland. He offered to advance a large sum of money, and to send plentiful supplies of the munitions of war, if he was acknowledged Protector Royal, and placed in possession of some cautionary towns. Clanricarde at once rejected terms so derogatory to the King's interests, but was persuaded by the clergy to continue the negotiations. Finally, the Duke was persuaded to advance twenty thousand pounds, on the promise of receiving Limerick and Galway as pledges; but before any further steps could be taken, these towns were in the hands of the Puritans.

A. D. 1651.—Ireton made vigorous preparations

for opening a decisive campaign ; and the commissioners who had been sent over by the English Parliament to administer the civil government, took the most judicious measures to restore tranquillity in the districts already subdued. Before he led out his forces, Ireton, who respected Castlehaven's abilities, sent a trumpeter to his Lordship, offering him a safe conduct, and security in person and property, if he would submit to the Parliament ; but Castlehaven rejected any attempt to seduce him from his allegiance, though by this time he despaired of success. Ireton having concentrated his forces at Cashel, advanced to the banks of the Shannon, opposite Killaloe, where Castlehaven was posted to dispute his passage. The treachery of Colonel Fennel rendered all the precautions unavailing. He fled from Killaloe without firing a shot ; and Ireton having thus obtained possession of the town, Castlehaven's position became untenable. In the mean time, Coote and Reynolds having taken Athlone, advanced through the county of Galway to Athenry, and some English frigates sailed up the Shannon. Ireton being now master of the river, laid siege to Limerick. The Marquis of Clanricarde sent to the citizens, offering to take the command of the city in person ; but the corporate authorities refused him admission, evidencing to the very last moment the truth of the adage, that insanity precedes destruction. The siege was conducted with vigour, and the town defended with great spirit by Hugh O'Neill. A plague, however, wasted the garrison, and several of the factions already proposed a surrender. Ireton, by secret emissaries, proffered pardon to all but twenty-four, among whom were

the Bishops of Emly and Limerick.* Great was the indignation of these prelates, when they found the effects of their artifices returning on their own heads. The multitude, whom they had themselves taught to despair, resolved to purchase safety by giving up the required victims ; and their threats of excommunication were no longer of any avail. Hugh O'Neill endeavoured to inspire his associates with nobler sentiments, and exhorted them to persevere in their defence ; but Fennel and some others having seized the keys, opened two of the gates, drove away O'Neill's guard, and admitted Ireton's soldiers.

Ireton immediately ordered the traitor Fennel to be executed, though he pleaded his former treachery at Youghal, and his recent services at Killaloe, as recommendations to the favour of the Parliamentary General. But though Ireton availed himself of the treason, he was not the less disposed to punish the traitor ; and the wretched miscreant met the just reward of his crimes. With him were executed Fanning, who had opposed the proclamation of the peace in 1646 ; Friar Walsh, the most virulent antagonist of Ormond, and the Bishop of Emly, † who

* The Bishop of Limerick made his escape in the disguise of a common soldier, when the garrison marched out.

† The following account of Jeffrey Baron's trial, if trial it can be called, is given by Ludlow in his Memoirs, and is an edifying example of republican justice and consistency.

" Jeffrey Baron having the same question put to him as the rest (viz. what he had to say for himself?) answered, that it was not just to exclude him from mercy, because he had been engaged in the same cause as we pretended to fight for, which was the liberty and religion of his country. The deputy (Ireton) replied, that Ireland being a conquered country, the English nation might with justice assert their right of

had been a servile tool of the nuncio. Had Ireton been satisfied with these victims, few, in the present day, would have blamed him for punishing those who had been traitors to both parties ; but he also condemned several, whose only crime was, that they had done their duty to their King and country. The most conspicuous victim selected was the gallant Hugh O'Neill, whose brave defence of Clonmel should have recommended him to the esteem of every brave man. O'Neill defended himself as a man and a soldier. He said that he had left an honourable command in foreign service, to come to the assistance of his countrymen ; that he had always acted the part of an honourable enemy ; and that an unjust sentence could leave no stain on his honourable character. Ireton, notwithstanding, persuaded the Council of War to pronounce sentence of death ; but Ludlow, and some of the other generals, interferred, representing the odium which such an exec-

conquest ; that they had been treated by the late government far beyond their merits, or the rules of reason ; notwithstanding which, they had barbarously murdered all the English that fell into their hands, robbed them of their goods which they had gained by their industry, and taken away the lands which they had purchased by their money. That touching the point of religion, there was a wide difference also between us, we only contending to preserve our natural right therein, without imposing our opinions upon other men ; whereas they would not be contented, unless they might have power to compel all others to submit to their impositions, under pain of death. The Council of War, looking upon what he had said to be hereby fully refuted, adjudged him to die, as they did the mayor also ; and the sentence was executed accordingly."—*Ludlow, I. 375.*

The claim of the Puritans to tolerant principles, is not the least remarkable part of this curious tirade, which Ludlow records with so much satisfaction as a perfect refutation of Baron's plea.

cution would bring on the English name abroad, where O'Neill was known and respected. His life was consequently spared.

The bigoted clergy saw in these calamities nothing but the means of confirming their own power, and began to oppose Clanricarde as violently as they had Ormond. With folly scarcely credible, they believed that the destruction of the royal authority would clear the way for their favourite schemes of domination, and thought that they could recover the island from the Parliamentarians when they pleased. Through their machinations, Ireton was enabled to seize the castle of Clare, and to threaten Galway before marching into winter quarters. The Irish, at the close of the second campaign, were in a most deplorable condition; and the perverseness of faction left but little reason to hope for any amendment. No preparations whatever were made for the ensuing campaign, while the commanders on the side of the Parliament made the most vigorous exertions to bring the war to a speedy termination.

During the winter Ireton died of the plague. His character, though not altogether faultless, was more perfect than that of most of his associates. He constantly protected the peasantry from the violence of the soldiers, and checked the sanguinary excesses of Actel and Sankey.* Like the other fanatics of that gloomy period, he thoroughly detested Popery and all its professors, and deemed that its extermi-

* A single example of Sankey's mode of administering justice will be sufficient. One of his soldiers was killed, during the time that he acted as military governor of the county of Tipperary, and all researches to discover the murderer failed. Sankey summoned all the inhabitants of the parish in which the man was slain at Fethard, and having compelled them to cast lots, hanged five on whom the lots fell.

nation would be an acceptable service to the Almighty. On this account, he showed no mercy to the ecclesiastics who fell into his hand, and always excepted the clergy from quarter ; but to all others he was usually mild and merciful, though he showed some traces of a cruel disposition after the capture of Limerick. To the Commonwealth of England he was a faithful and devoted servant, and would probably, if he had lived, have opposed his father-in-law's usurpation.

A. D. 1652.—Ludlow took the command on the death of Ireton, and soon began to act with vigour. Galway, the last considerable town held by the confederates, submitted without resistance ; and the different leaders of Irish troops entered into negotiations for the transportation of themselves and their followers into the service of some foreign power. The first that submitted was Colonel Fitzpatrick, for which he was excommunicated by the prelates ; but O'Dwyer soon after followed the example, and the Earl of Westmeath was next added to the number. Sir Phelim O'Neill, the beginner of this tedious war, again became conspicuous towards the close, and, joining the Marquis of Clanricarde, captured the forts of Ballyshannon and Donegal. These places, however, were soon retaken ; Clanricarde fled for safety to the isle of Carrick ; but Sir Phelim fell into the hands of his enemies. When Fleetwood, whom Cromwell had appointed his deputy, landed, there scarcely remained a Royalist force in Ireland. The nuncio's party, whose obstinacy and bigotry had caused the loss of the country, suffered bitterly for their folly ; they sent ambassadors offering the crown of Ireland to the Pope, the King of France, the King of Spain, and the Duke of Lorraine ; the

proffer was every where rejected with contempt, and their humble petitions for assistance disdainfully refused. Little pity was felt for the fate of men who had notoriously abused the most abundant means of defence, and who had exerted themselves strenuously to frustrate every plan devised for their protection.

Clanricarde despatched the Earl of Castlehaven to inform the King of the desperate condition of Irish affairs, and, in the mean time, maintained a guerilla warfare in the woods and mountains. At length he received a letter from Charles, desiring him to consult for his own safety. He applied to Fleetwood for a pass, which was readily granted, and submitted to the parliament, on condition of not being required to take any oath inconsistent with his duty to his sovereign. Lord Muskerry held out some time longer in the south-west of Munster, but was forced to surrender to Ludlow. On the 26th of September, the English Parliament declared, that "the rebels in Ireland were subdued, and the rebellion appeased and ended."

CHAPTER IV.

The Cromwellian Settlement.

THE Irish war was now at an end ; the greater part of the nobility and gentry, with the flower of the army, had sought an asylum in foreign lands ; the estates of the confederates were deserted rather than forfeited ; and the English commonwealth prepared to put into execution a system of confiscation and plantation, more extensive and complete than any that Elizabeth, James, or Charles, had ventured even to contemplate. The ordinance for the settling of Ireland amply proves, that the English Parliament, notwithstanding its boasted attachment to liberty and justice, was by no means scrupulous in outraging those who were subjected to their power ; so true is the aphorism, that large bodies are insensible of shame, and that a collection of men will consent to acts of iniquity, from which each, individually, would have shrunk with horror. The first clause of this ordinance is very remarkable ; it declares, that it was not the intention of the English Parliament to extirpate the Irish nation ! * Such a proposal had

* The people of England at this period, however, deemed that the soil of Ireland was absolutely their own property, with which they could do as they pleased, and looked upon the na-

been actually made by some of the wilder fanatics, who deemed themselves commissioned by heaven to execute the same vengeance on the idolatrous Papists that the Jews did on the inhabitants of Canaan. In every age and country, since the introduction of Christianity, we find enthusiasts invariably preferring the horrors of the Old Testament to the mercies of the New, and proclaiming themselves the servants of a God of vengeance, and not of a God of love. The advocates of such monstrous doctrines, the votaries of the Mosaic, rather than the Christian dispensation, have not yet quite disappeared, but their numbers are now few, and their influence contemptible ; but in the Cromwellian age, and long afterwards, such opinions were boldly propagated and defended. Instead of deeming intolerant principles disgraceful, men seemed to think that the more sanguinary and violent their expressions were, the more they evidenced the sincerity of their attachment to pure religion.

slaves as possessing no rights, or at least none superior to the beasts of the field. Harrington, in his *Oceana*, a work which advocates the wildest principles of natural liberty, gravely proposes, that Ireland should be leased out to the Jews, and that island formed into a new Canaan. Nor does he perceive any inconsistency in thus sentencing an entire nation to degrading bondage, in the very book in which he proves that all men are born free. This, however, is not unparalleled ; for we are informed, that the proprietors of slaves are the most violent democrats in the United States.

The connexion between Ireland and the Jews has engaged the attention of several other speculators. A late historian attempts to prove, that the Irish are descended from the ten tribes ; and Mr Dobbs, a member of the last Irish parliament, attempted to prove, from the prophets and apocalypse, that Ireland is the destined locality of the New Jerusalem ! His principal argument is, the similarity in sound and sense between the words Armagh and Armageddon ! !

Not a few of the preachers of that period denounced, from their pulpit, the sparing of the Papists as a heinous sin, and urged the godly to consummate the work of slaughter, "even as Samuel had hewed Agag in pieces before the Lord at Gilgal." *

But though the lives of the Irish were spared, the English Parliament felt no scruple respecting their properties. All the Papists in the kingdom possessing more than ten pounds, were divided into four classes, each subjected to different degrees of forfeiture.

"First, all persons who, before the 10th of November 1642, had contrived, acted, or aided the rebellion, murders or massacres, which began in October 1641 ; and all Jesuits, priests, or other ecclesiastics, who had any way contrived, aided, or abetted ; and all persons who, since the 1st of October 1641, had slain any person not bearing arms for the English, or who, not being then maintained in arms under the command and pay of the Irish against the English; had slain any person maintained in arms for the English ; and all persons who, being in arms against the Parliament of England, should not lay them down in twenty-eight days, and submit to their authority, were excepted from pardon of life or estate."

"Secondly, all persons (not being comprehended in any of the former qualifications) who had

* A common expression in the mouth of the fanatics, which they regarded at once as a prophecy and a precept, was that passage in the Psalms—" That thy feet may be dipped in the blood of thine enemies, and that the tongue of thy dogs may be red with the same." It has been asserted, but perhaps not with truth, though the statement has not been contradicted, that this sentence is still used as a pass-word in certain secret societies.

bore command in the war of Ireland against the Parliament of England, were to be banished during the pleasure of the Parliament, and to forfeit two-thirds of their estates, and their wives and children to be assigned lands to the value of the other third where the Parliament should appoint."

"Thirdly, all persons of the Popish religion (not being comprehended in any of the former qualifications), who had resided in the kingdom at any time from the 1st of October 1641 to the 1st of March 1650, and had not manifested their constant good affection to the interest of the commonwealth of England, were to forfeit one-third of their estates, and to be assigned lands to the value of the other two-thirds where the Parliament should appoint."

"Fourthly, all other persons who resided in Ireland within the time aforesaid, and had not been in arms for the Parliament, or manifested their good affection to its interest, having an opportunity to do so, were to forfeit one-fifth of their estates."

"Finally, the Marquis of Ormond, the Earls of Inchiquin and Roscommon, and Bramhal, the Protestant Bishop of Derry, were distinctly mentioned by name as obstinate malignants, and declared incapable of pardon for life, title or estate.

High courts of justice were erected for the trial of those who were accused of murder or massacre. These courts were constituted far differently from the ordinary tribunals of the country : they were in fact a species of courts-martial, in which the parliamentary officers sat both as judges and jurors : they were not very strict in regarding the letter of the law, or the strict rules of evidence : and they were inclined to severity equally by their prejudices and their interest. To the great astonishment of the justiciaries,

they found an unaccountable deficiency of victims, after the severest inquisition ;—not quite two hundred could be discovered, who could be charged with illegal murders during all the excitement of a ten years' war ; and the evidence against many of these was such as would be rejected in any court of justice, and perhaps by some courts-martial. Lord Mayo in Connaught, and Colonel Bagnal in Munster, were certainly condemned unjustly ; and Lord Muskerry would have shared the same fate, had not a crowd of English settlers come forward, to bear grateful testimony to the protection which he had afforded. In Ulster, the only victim was Sir Phelim O'Neill, who had been the first to take up arms, and whose tumultuous followers were the perpetrators of the excesses on which the tale of the pretended Irish massacre was founded. Nothing in the life of this unfortunate chieftain was so honourable as its termination. He was repeatedly offered pardon and restoration to his liberty and estate, if he would produce any *material* proof, of his having received a commission from the King for his insurrection ; but he affirmed, to the last hour of his life, that he never possessed any such authority, and preferred death to the propagation of an unjust calumny.

It must be confessed, that the truth of this anecdote is rather questionable. It was originally narrated by a Protestant clergyman after the Restoration, when it was considered a matter of policy to malign the character both of the Irish and the Parliamentarians ; and this story fixes on one the stain of forgery, and on the other subornation of perjury. That Sir Phelim forged a commission from the King, and affixed to it a seal taken from a patent of Lord Charlemont's, is certainly possible ; but how are we to account for

the fact, that none of the Charlemont family knew any thing of such an occurrence, and that, when Dr. Leland applied to the Earl of Charlemont, he found that he had no patent in his possession answering to the description ? That the Parliamentarians wished to discover some proofs of the share that Charles was supposed to have in the Irish insurrection, cannot be doubted ; and assuredly they had good reasons to suspect him of secret participation. The character of the "royal martyr" for duplicity and falsehood was unfortunately too notorious ; and the transactions with Glamorgan fully prove, that if he did not stimulate the confederate Catholics to take up arms, he at least wished them success. On that occasion also, he showed that his solemn declarations in public were not unfrequently at variance with his private transactions. But, even on the evidence of the narrators themselves, the anecdote contains a vindication of the Puritans ; for they only promised life to O'Neill if he produced tangible evidence of the King's suspected participation, not, as has been insinuated, if he merely consented to bring forward the charge.

The disposal of the forfeited estates was the next object that engaged the attention of the English parliament. They determined that these should be distributed according to the provisions of the Act (17. Charles I.), commonly called the Adventurers' Act, which had been passed at the commencement of the civil war. This statute provided, that the lands of those who were in arms should be distributed amongst such persons as should advance money, and become adventurers in the reduction of Ireland. Two millions and a half of acres were to be assigned and allotted in the following proportions ; viz. each ad-

venturer of L.200 was to have 1000 acres in Ulster ; of L.300, 1000 acres in Connaught ; of L.450, 1000 acres in Munster ; and of L.600, 1000 acres in Leinster, according to English measure. And out of these lands was to be paid a yearly quit-rent reserved to the crown, viz. one penny per acre in Ulster, three halfpence in Connanght, twopence farthing in Munster, and threepence for Leinster. And by the act, every person within three months after receiving his allotment, that should have 1000 acres in Leinster, 1500 in Munster, 2000 in Connaught, or 3000 in Ulster, was to have power to erect a manor, with a court baron and a court leet, and all other privileges belonging to a manor, and with deodands and fugitives' goods, &c.

In the year 1653, preparations were made to put this act into execution, and an ordinance was issued for the satisfaction of the adventurers and soldiers.* By this decree, the forfeited lands in the counties of Limerick, Tipperary, and Waterford, in the province of Munster ; the King's and Queen's Counties ; East and West Meath, in the province of Leinster ; Down, Antrim and Armagh, in the province of Ulster ; together with the county of Louth, if necessary, except the barony of Atherdee, were to be charged with the money advanced by the adventurers and the arrears of pay due to the soldiers, ac-

* " In this transaction those of the army showed great partiality, by confining the satisfaction of arrears only to such as were in arms in August 1649, which was the time when the English army commanded by Lieutenant-General Cromwell arrived in Ireland ; and though the hardships endured by those who were in arms before had been much greater, yet nothing could be obtained but such a proportion of lands in the county of Wicklow and elsewhere, as was not sufficient to clear the fourth part of what was due to them." — *Ludlow*, ii. 441.

cording to the rates before mentioned, and to be divided between them by baronies, moiatively by lot ; and for the satisfaction of the arrears of the forces there, who should be immediately disbanded, several other proportions of forfeited lands were set out, particularly the lands beginning at one mile from the town of Sligo, and so winging upon the coast, nor above four miles distant from the sea, which was called the Mile Line.

Commissioners were appointed for putting this ordinance into execution ; for taking a survey of the forfeited lands, and appointing a court for receiving and hearing claims ; and by the instructions given to the commissioners, the second and third classes of Irish above mentioned, who forfeited one third or two thirds of their estates, were to be transplanted into the province of Connaught, and the county of Clare, for the proportions to be allotted them, except the mile line ; which line was intended to cut off the communication of the Irish with the sea, as the Shannon was to cut them off from the rest of the kingdom.

Commissioners of delinquency, accordingly, sat at Athlone, to determine the qualifications of Papists ; and upon their decrees, other commissioners who sat at Loughrea, arranged the transplantation. Many of the Irish gentry did not take out their decrees, and the transplantation was not completed at the Restoration ; although all the lands of the Catholics were seized and sequestrated, and the surveys were in hand actually taking ; and being thus seized and sequestrated, they were, by the Act of Settlement, vested in the crown.

The distribution of the greater part of Ireland thus made by the Cromwellians, was nearly as complete

as that of Canaan by the Israelites ; the example by which the Puritans declared that they were directed, and believed that they were justified. The principal sufferers were the Anglo-Irish nobility, who were now plundered of their broad lands with as little ceremony as their ancestors had used to the native inhabitants. A new and strange class of proprietors took the place of the ancient aristocracy, and preserved their acquisitions under every succeeding change. The Irish, at the close of this civil war, and afterwards, after the Revolution, resigned their country and their estates with wondrous readiness, and sought an asylum in foreign lands. But the Cromwellians clung to the land which they had obtained, even under the most unfavourable circumstances, and showed that they, in some degree, merited their new acquisitions, by the resolute firmness they displayed in their defence. They were, for the most part, men of low origin, and mean education ; but enthusiasm gave them a stern dignity of character, which must command a certain share of respect. That the act which gave them the lands of the kingdom was an unparalleled public robbery, and the most atrocious instance of unprincipled spoliation recorded in any history, nobody can question. Few, however, felt any scruples at the period ; the country, they deemed, was theirs by right of conquest—a right which they supposed to give them absolute authority over the lives and properties of the vanquished. The sufferers were Papists, and they had been taught to look on them as idolatrous blasphemers, whose punishment was an acceptable service in the sight of heaven. There were some, however, whose consciences were not deluded by this miserable and blasphemous sophistry. Several of the soldiers restored

their lots to the original proprietors for a trifling consideration, or generously bestowed it as a present. Others sold their lots to their officers ; and the writer has frequently seen the muster-rolls of the troops that has assigned their grants to their captains, gratuitously, or for a trifling recompense. Tradition, in many instances, records, that the officers married the heiresses of the estates which they had been granted. And this is not improbable ; for so many of the nobility and gentry had either fallen in the war, or gone into exile, that the right of inheritance must, in countless instances, have vested in females.

The land, however, seemed likely to be useless for want of cultivators. The Cromwellians had shown little mercy during the war, and massacred the wretched peasantry by thousands ; others, they had transported as slaves to the plantations ; numbers, as we have already seen, had entered into the service of foreign potentates.* The design of shutting up the miserable remnant in Connaught was laid aside ; they were kept as bondsmen and slaves to the new proprietors ; and treated as the Gibeonites had been by Joshua. The Cromwellians ruled their wretched serfs with a rod of iron : they looked upon them as an inferior species, a degraded caste, with whom they

* The peasants themselves resigned all hopes of life when they fell into the hands of the Puritans. The following anecdote, related by Ludlow in his Memoirs, will probably suggest reflections different from that made by the narrator. “ Being on my march on the other side of Nenagh, an advanced party found two of the rebels, one of whom was killed by the guard before I came up to them ; the other was saved : And being brought before me at Portumna, and I asking him if he had a mind to be hanged ? he only answered, *If you please !*—so obstinately stupid were many of these poor creatures.”—*Ludlow*, vol. i. 392.

could not feel sympathy. The very name of Irish was with them and their descendants an expression of contempt, associated with ideas of intellectual and moral degradation. The peasants were forbidden to leave their parishes without permission ; and strictly prohibited from assembling for religious worship, or on any other purpose. The Catholic clergy were ordered to quit the country, under pain of death ; and it was declared a capital offence to celebrate mass, or perform any of the ceremonies of Romish worship. Still, there were a faithful few who lingered near their beloved congregations, and, in spite of the fearful hazard, afforded their flocks the consolation of religion. They exercised their ministry in dens and caves ; in the wild fastnesses of the mountains, and in the deserted bogs. The Cromwellians learned that the abominations of Popery were still continued in the land, and employed blood-hounds to track the haunts of these devoted men. During the latter part of the seventeenth, and the early part of the eighteenth century, priest-hunting was a favourite field sport in Ireland.

The character of the rude soldiers was soon changed by the possession of property. Enthusiasm did not become extinct, but it was strangely mixed with more than an ordinary share of worldly prudence. This was first evidenced by the readiness with which the Irish army concurred in Cromwell's usurpation. Originally the most hostile to his designs, they suddenly discovered that his success was essential to the security of their new possessions, and they willingly exerted themselves to invest him with despotic power. Ludlow, who was a consistent republican, would have made some resistance, but found himself totally unsupported ; and when

When Henry Cromwell came over to sound the feelings of the soldiers, he found the great majority zealously attached to his father's interests.

The original Cromwellians were as much opposed to the church of England as to the church of Rome. Prelacy was, in their view, an abomination second only to Papacy; and they turned the established clergy out of the churches without scruple. Many of them set up conventicles in different parts of the country, some of which remain to this day; others became Quakers; and others adopted some non-descript form of worship, from the thousand and one sects that sprung up in England during the excitement of the civil war. The rigid and ascetic principles of these fanatics soon yielded to the influence of property, and the enlivening effects of a genial climate. Though traces of the "old covenanting leaven" may still be found in the Protestantism of Ireland, it is certain that rigid morals and severe manners soon disappeared. In the reign of Charles II., the Cromwellians found an alliance with the church necessary for their interests, and quickly laid aside their scruples, and their dread of Episcopacy. As new generations arose, the alliance between the established church and the descendants of the Puritans became closer, and both joined in compelling the peasantry to pay for the support of the church. But the Cromwellians, though liberal enough with the tithes of the cultivators, were by no means inclined to pay ~~any~~ thing out of their own pocket; and when the parsons applied for the tithe of agistment, which fell exclusively on the gentry, they were suddenly stopped by a vote of the Irish parliament, which declared that such a demand was destructive of the Protestant interest; and this vote

had all the effect of an act of the Legislature down to the time of the Union, when it was sanctioned by a positive law, and formed part of the bribe paid to the country gentlemen for sanctioning that measure. Even during the Protectorate, we find many of the Puritanical pamphlets complaining of the “sad falling-off among the brethren of Ireland ;” but before half a century had been completed, the apostasy was perfect, and the English sectarians ceased to regard the Irish Protestants as possessing any share of that sanctity for which the original Levellers were so remarkable. “ I have eaten with them, drank with them, played with them, fought with them—but I never prayed with them,” is the description given of the children of those Puritans who had settled in Ireland, by an English visitor, descended himself from the saints of Cromwell, but unfortunately perverted by the sinners of a later generation.

The administration of justice was established on very simple principles ; for the courts generally resembled those of a Turkish cadi, where the president is at once judge and jury. It is not, however, true, as has been asserted by some zealous Irishmen, that Cromwell systematically laboured to corrupt the Bench. He certainly appointed several judges who were scarcely fit to hold the situation of tipstaff in their own courts ; but to this he was forced by necessity, rather than inclination. The Irish Bar was of very limited extent, and its members were all devoted to the Royal cause. The English lawyers, indeed, furnished many devoted partisans of Parliament ; but they could not be persuaded to accept situations in a country which they looked upon as “ a howling wilderness.” Donnegan, a man who, like

Sir Matthew Hales in England, had forced respect from his political adversaries, was offered the situation of Chief-Justice ; but he preferred an honourable poverty to holding office under a usurper. The fact, however, of such an offer having been made, proves, that the Protector was not anxious to corrupt the fountains of justice. The presidency of the courts in Munster was given to John Cooke, who had been employed as Solicitor-General for the Parliament on the trial of Charles I. ; and never did a more upright man sit on the Bench. He was hanged as a regicide after the Restoration ; but his memory is still hallowed in the traditions of the peasantry, and his posterity still reap the fruits of his virtues, in the respect shown to his descendants.

Cromwell intrusted the government of Ireland to his son Henry, and a wiser choice he could not have made. Under his administration, the scandalous peculation of the commissioners of the forfeited estates was repressed, the violence of the soldiers restrained, and legal protection afforded to the peasantry. The Lord-deputy made a tour through the island, and formed a just estimate of its natural advantages. He was particularly struck with the fine harbours and noble bays on the west coast, which afford so many facilities for commerce, but which still remain neglected. He devised several beneficial plans for rendering the great resources of Ireland available; but, before any steps could be taken for their accomplishment, the Protector died; and a new revolution removed Henry from a situation which he had filled with equal integrity and ability. It is honourable to the character of Henry Cromwell, and the officers of the Irish army, that they were deeply impressed with the necessity of encou-

raging learning. They purchased, at their own expense, the magnificent library of primate Ussher, which his heirs were about to sell by auction, and kept it for a second college, which they intended to found in Dublin ; but, after the Restoration, this, with many other useful projects, was laid aside, and this valuable collection transferred to the library of Trinity College.

The Protector has the merit of having first projected the union of the Irish and English legislatures. In his "Instrument of Government," it was provided, that Ireland should be represented by thirty members in the Imperial Parliament ; but, unfortunately, he never put the plan into execution ; and his successors were not sensible of its advantages. In fine, the Cromwellian administration may fairly challenge a comparison with the best of those by which it was preceded, and with many of those that followed, so far as the supreme government was concerned ; but the local magistracies were, of necessity, intrusted to men wholly unfitted for responsible situations. There are no materials for a history of Ireland under the Protectorate. The Puritans were not a literary people, and were too much occupied in securing their new estates to write. The few sketches given have been chiefly derived from cotemporary pamphlets, from collections of old letters preserved by a few families, and from tradition. It would have been easy to have drawn the picture in darker colours, and to have added traits of ferocious fanaticism, sometimes ludicrous and sometimes disgusting ; but the exposure of the follies of religious enthusiasm may be easily confounded with attacks on religion itself—may offend the sincerely pious, and furnish new weapons of attack to the

profane. We have therefore touched these subjects as lightly as possible. Perhaps, however, enough has been said to enable the reader to form some idea of the Cromwellian aristocracy, which, until very lately, under the title of the English party, or "the Protestant ascendancy," monopolized the government of Ireland.

On the death of Oliver, Richard Cromwell became Lord Protector, and, though ably supported by his brother, soon felt the reins of government slipping from his hands. After his resignation, the parliament, dreading the abilities of Henry Cromwell, determined to remove him from the government, and, imagining that he would make a struggle to preserve his authority, sent over Sir Hardress Waller, with orders to surprise the castle of Dublin. But Henry Cromwell was too wise and too good to enter into any contest for the possession of power. He at once resigned his office, and retired to a small house in the Phoenix Park. With such little regard to his own private interest had this upright man administered the government, that he was detained some time, by the want of a sufficient sum to pay the expenses of his passage to England. The new government had scarcely been installed, when an unexpected revolution occurred, which terminated in the restoration of the Royal authority, under circumstances that can scarcely be paralleled in the annals of any age or nation.

CHAPTER V.

The Restoration.—The King's Declaration.

A. D. 1660.—It has been already stated, that the Irish Puritans, after being raised from the rank of mercenary soldiers to that of rich landed proprietors, began to display more wisdom and prudence than is usually found connected with enthusiasm. Several of the leaders became convinced, that their darling scheme of a republic was no longer practicable ; and though they had formerly denounced monarchy as inconsistent with the sovereignty of the Deity, they began now to discover that regal authority was necessary to the completion of their security. At the head of this party was Lord Broghill, a nobleman who had only joined Cromwell from private motives, and who seems, under all circumstances, to have preserved his attachment to monarchy.* During

* The following anecdote is related very circumstantially by Morrice, a historian of some authority. From some of his friends in the exiled court, Broghill learned that Charles admired the personal charms of the Lady Frances, Cromwell's daughter, and was by no means averse to an alliance with her. Having obtained the King's permission to sound the Protector on the subject, Broghill communicated the matter to Cromwell's wife and daughter, and then caused a rumour of it to be spread abroad in London. Soon after he presented himself to Cromwell, and being asked, "What news in the city?" after

the King's exile, he maintained a confidential correspondence with Ormond and others of the royal council, and used all his influence with Cromwell to procure favour and protection from the Cavaliers. His first associate was Coote, the most unprincipled and sanguinary of the Parliamentary leaders ; but though his hands were still red with the slaughter of the King's friends, Coote entered into the scheme of restoration with a violent zeal, which threatened to ruin the plot by precipitating the attempt. The conspirators were soon joined by Lord Montgomery, Sir Theophilus Jones, Sir Oliver St George, Sir Audley Mervyn, and other distinguished Puritans ; but the suspicions of the Parliamentary Commissioners were awakened, and Broghill was subjected to a strict examination. His profound dissimulation saved him. He denounced monarchy as a

some affected delay, replied, "every one reports that you are about to give your daughter Frances to the King."—"Well," asked Cromwell, "and what do the fools think of it?"—"All like it, and I think it the wisest thing you can do, if it can be accomplished." Cromwell, who had first looked upon the matter as a jest, now began to view it in a more serious light, and asked, "Do you really think so too?" Broghill availed himself of the opening, and urged the measure by some very powerful reasons. Cromwell heard him with great attention ; and when he had concluded, paced the apartment in silence, obviously agitated by violent emotions. At length, turning to Broghill, he said, "The King would never forgive me the death of his father." Broghill was afraid to confess that he had already commenced a negotiation ; but he promised to use every exertion to effect a reconciliation. Cromwell, however, still repeated, "The King cannot, and will not forgive the death of his father." Broghill then retired, and having informed Cromwell's wife and daughter of his failure, begged that they would exert their influence ; but the despair of obtaining sincere forgiveness rendered the Protector deaf to their remonstrances and entreaties.

"ruinous wickedness ; " averred that he would sooner die than give " the Lord's heritage to strangers ; " and was scarcely dismissed when he prepared for the instant execution of his designs. The towns which had so opportunely revolted to Cromwell, were now the first to declare for Charles. He was proclaimed at Youghal, Bandon and Kinsale, amid the loudest acclamations. Galway was secured by Coote, and a sudden attack gave the confederates possession of Dublin. Sir Hardress Waller, having been one of the late King's judges, had reason to fear that this change would terminate in his destruction, and therefore resisted it most obstinately ; but he was besieged in the castle of Dublin, and being forced to surrender in a few days, was sent as a prisoner to England. Ludlow, on the first news of these events, hastened over to resume the government of Ireland ; and restore the Commonwealth ; but, when he arrived in the bay of Dublin, he found that orders had been issued for his arrest, and he therefore retired to Duncannon, the governor of which still continued faithful to the Parliament. All the exertions, however, of this zealous republican were unavailing. The Cromwellians were not to be checked in their new career of loyalty ; and Ludlow returned to London, where the equivocal proceedings of Monk had begun to give general alarm.

A convention was summoned to meet in Dublin ; and the King's declaration at Breda being presented to this assembly, it was received with the most tumultuous joy. A present of twenty thousand pounds to the King, four thousand to the Duke of York, and two thousand to the Duke of Gloucester, was voted by acclamation ; and Broghill's prudent proposal to make some conditions with the new sovereign was

rejected. An invitation to Ireland was sent to Charles, which would have been accepted, but for the new revolution which Monk effected in England. On the 29th of May, Charles was restored to the throne of his ancestors ; and the British commonwealth ceased to exist.

The condition of Ireland at the Restoration was the most extraordinary possible. The old inhabitants and the new adventurers, the Catholics and the Protestants, hated each other most cordially ; and there was scarcely less animosity between the different sects into which the Protestants were divided. The Catholics were naturally the most impatient. They hoped now to recover the estates which they had lost by their fidelity to the monarch that had been just restored ; and those who had been declared innocent by Cromwell, were foremost in demanding restoration of their property. A few more violent than the rest did not wait for tedious forms of law, and at once ejected the intruders from their lands ; and thus afforded their enemies a pretext, of which they were not slow in availing themselves. The cry of a new rebellion was raised. Agents were sent over to England, where every report unfavourable to the Irish was then received with peculiar avidity ; and such was the effect of the clamour, that in the act of indemnity, all who had at any time aided or abetted the Irish rebellion were expressly excluded. Another clause enacted, that no estates disposed of by the Parliament or Convention should be restored to the original proprietors ; and it was not without the fiercest opposition that an exception was inserted of “ the Marquis of Ormond, and other Protestants of Ireland.”

The provisional government which the Puritans

had established in Dublin, rigorously put in force the most severe ordinances which had been issued against the Catholics. They were not allowed to quit their places of residence without special permission. All assemblies of the gentry were strictly prohibited, and every effort made to prevent their electing agents to lay their just claims before the King. These arbitrary exertions were powerfully seconded by the English parliament, anxious at once to retain its usurped authority over Ireland, and to preserve the support of a powerful body of adherents, in case of any future contest with the crown. The King had no sooner arrived in London, than addresses were sent up by both Houses of Parliament, representing the dangers to be dreaded from the violence of certain natives of Ireland; and Charles was obliged to issue a proclamation for apprehending Irish rebels, and for securing all adventurers and soldiers in the possession of the lands they then held, until legally evicted, or his Majesty, by advice of Parliament, should take further order therein.

The case of the Irish Catholics has been so studiously and atrociously misrepresented, that a brief statement of the leading particulars is necessary. The imputed massacre of the Protestants has always been the excuse urged for the extensive spoliation to which they were subjected; and yet a moment's examination will suffice to show, that this massacre, whether real or fictitious, has nothing whatever to do with the question. The murders that have been so often mentioned, were all committed in the north by the people of Ulster, before any of the confederate Catholics had taken up arms. The forfeited lands lay principally in Leinster and Munster; and their proprietors not only had no share in the alleged

arbitries, but denominated them in the severest terms.*. The war of the confederates was in no sense of the word a rebellion. The Lords of the Pale took up arms to defend themselves, and the cause of their King and country, against the unprincipled Parsons, and his vile supporters. During the entire contest, they professed a zealous attachment to the royal cause, and were ready to support the King with their lives and properties. The war which had been protracted by the artifices of Ormond, prevented them from giving Charles such efficient assistance in his contest with the Parliament as they eagerly desired ; but, after the peace, or rather truce of 1646, they had sent him aids, both of men and money. Two solemn treaties, in 1646 and 1648, had been concluded between them and their sovereign, by which they were promised security for their religion, liberty and property. In consideration of these promises, they had boldly maintained their sovereign's right against Cromwell, as long as they possessed the means of resistance, and rejected the authority of the usurper, even after England and Scotland had acknowledged his sway. The loss of their estates was, in fact, the consequence of their desperate fidelity ; for they might easily have secured them by early submission to the English Parliament.

It is doubtful, whether Charles had the power of

* This argument was answered, then and since, by a most astounding example of “the sophism of name.” It was gravely urged, that, as some Irish Papists had committed murders, all Irish Papists were involved in the guilt, and liable to the penalties. This convenient mode of arguing from individuals to classes, in spite of Aristotle, is not peculiar to Ireland ; but, it certainly has prevailed there more extensively, and for a longer time, than in any other country. The use of it, indeed, is not even yet discontinued.

doing justice to those men ;—it is certain, that he had not the inclination. Ormond persuaded him, that the Puritans had unconsciously done him a great service, by establishing an English interest in Ireland, and accomplishing the favourite schemes of his father and grandfather—an extensive plantation. He easily showed that the new proprietors would be more subservient than the rightful owners, as the existence of their property entirely depended on their support of the government ; and proved how much more valuable were subjects ready to purchase favour than those who possessed weighty claims on gratitude. None of the Stuarts were remarkable for preferring principles to policy ; and Charles was troubled with fewer scruples than any of them. He saw that to act justly was a work of difficulty and danger, and one in which virtue should be its own reward ; but an iniquitous course he knew to be safe and profitable; and his choice was instantly decided.

Though Charles had not yet become the pensioner and hireling of France, he was in some degree already dependant upon the French King, who advocated the cause of the Irish Catholics. The Queen-mother, and other influential personages, also were disposed to view them with favour ; and not a few of them, who had accompanied the King into exile, and served him faithfully under all calamities, had personal claims on his regard. The Protestant officers, who had served under Ormond previous to the peace, whom Cromwell had refused to pay, clamoured for their arrears ; and the King was forced, by irresistible circumstances, to undertake the perplexing task of making some arrangement of the affairs of Ireland. Various plans were proposed and examined in the Privy Council, and rejected as impracticable.

The Council, indeed, had resolved as a preliminary, that the Cromwellians should be secured in their possessions ; and the only difficulty was, how the claims of others should be satisfied. At length, a scheme was devised by Lord Broghill, now created Earl of Orrery, Sir John Clotworthy, and Sir Arthur Mervyn, by which the forfeited lands, not belonging to the Cromwellians, should be formed into a common stock, from which the innocent or meritorious Irish might be compensated, or *reprised*, as it was termed. Charles eagerly embraced a plan that promised to relieve him from his embarrassment, and published his celebrated declaration for the settlement of Ireland.

The two first clauses of this declaration confirm the adventurers and soldiers in the possession of all lands, except such as had belonged to the church, which had been assigned them for money advanced, or arrears of pay. Officers who had served in the royal army before June 1649, were to receive lands as a satisfaction for their arrears, at the rate of twelve and sixpence in the pound, and an equal dividend of whatever should remain of their security. Protestants, whose estates had been given to adventurers, were to be restored, and the adventurers reprised, without being accountable for the *mesne* profits. Innocent Papists were to be restored, and the persons in possession of their land reprised ; but no Papist was to be restored to an estate lying within a corporate town, for it was deemed necessary to keep all the corporations in the hands of Protestants. Such persons, however, were to be reprised in the neighbourhood. Papists who had submitted to the Cromwellian arrangement, and taken lands in Connaught, were to be bound thereby, and not relieved from their own act. Those who had joined the

King in his exile, and served under his banners, were to be restored to their estates, but not until the persons in possession had been repossessed. Additional grants were made to Ormond and Inchiquin, who had been restored to their estates by an act of the English parliament. Grants of forfeited lands were made to Monk, Duke of Albemarle, and some others; and thirty-six of the Irish nobility and gentry, specially named as objects of his Majesty's peculiar favour, were ordered to be restored, on the same conditions as those who had served under the royal ensigns abroad. Those who had not been assigned lands in Connacht were to be restored first, and the rest in the order of the establishment of their innocence. The settlement was to be confirmed by a Parliament, promised to be summoned speedily, and acts of oblivion and indemnity to be then passed. His Majesty accepted, as a free gift from the adventurers and soldiers, half of their rent for two years, to be applied to his service, and that of eminent sufferers in his cause. Those who had contrived the seizure of the Castle of Dublin, and all who had a share in the trial and execution of the late King, were excluded from the benefit of the declaration. Lands belonging to corporations were to be restored, and the possessors repossessed.

The Protestant royalists complained bitterly of the clause which sentenced them to receive only a composition for their arrears, while the Cromwellians, the enemies of the King, received full payment. They asserted, and not without justice, that his Majesty had sacrificed his most faithful friends to his most inveterate enemies. The Catholics were, with as much reason, indignant at finding that the restoration of their estates was to be delayed until those

in possession had been deprised. But when they found that the Commissioners for executing the declaration were men bound to the adventurers and soldiers by interest and inclination, and that the instructions given to these Commissioners were framed in a spirit most hostile to the Irish, they were filled with melancholy apprehensions. The qualifications of innocence are supposed to have been framed by Ormonde, and were studiously contrived to prevent any of that nation from obtaining a sentence of acquittal.

No man was to be restored as an innocent Papist, who, at or before the cessation of the year 1648, had been of the royal party, or lived within the quarters of the confederate Catholics, except the inhabitants of Cork and Youghal, who had been forcibly expelled from their habitations, and driven into the hostile lines by the fanatics that had settled in these towns. No man was to be deemed innocent, who had actively engaged in the confederacy before the peace of 1648, or who had adhered to the nuncio, the clergy, or the papal power; in opposition to the royal authority; or who, having been excommunicated for his adherence to that authority, had acknowledged himself an offender, and obtained absolution. Whoever derived his title from persons guilty of these crimes—*whoever claimed his estate on the articles of peace*, and thus acknowledged his concurrence in the rebellion—*whoever, in the English quarters, had held correspondence with the confederates, or sat in their councils, or acted under their commission*—*whoever employed agents to treat with any foreign power for bringing forces into Ireland, or acted in such negotiations, or harassed the country as "Tories,"* (a name given to the independent

guerilla parties), before the departure of the Marquis of Clanricarde,—were all to be considered as desperate rebels, and incapable of restitution.

It is not necessary to contrast these documents with the indulgence shown to the republicans and regicides, in order to point out their monstrous iniquity. No person who has carefully read the most prejudiced narrative of the civil war, can hesitate to confess that they exhibit an utter disregard of even the appearance of justice. The article that sentenced those to forfeiture, who had resided within the lines of the confederates, was especially remarkable; for it was notorious that the Lords-jurors would not permit the Catholic gentry to reside anywhere else, and had issued proclamations banishing, on pain of death, all those who sought refuge in Dublin.

The parliament and the people of England, on the other hand, regarded the declarations as too favourable to the Papists ! Taken individually, there is not on the earth a more noble and generous people than the English ; but, taken collectively, there are few that have committed grosser acts of national injustice. Appeals made to their pride, their passion, or their prejudice, have frequently been found more effectual than a calm address to their honour or their generosity. It was the same in the free states of antiquity, and appears to be part of the penalty paid for freedom. The Athenians plundered the islands of the Ægean without scruple ; the Romans seized on the Arician lands, without condescending to produce the shadow of a claim ; and the English believed, that, in disposing of the lands of Ireland, they gave away what was absolutely their own. The very peasants spoke of the country as

our kingdom of Ireland, just as, in the beginning of the American war, they talked of *our* colonies; and there was not one who did not feel himself elevated in his own opinion, by this fancied participation in sovereignty over another people. It was also a settled maxim, in what may be called the political economy of the day, that Ireland should be systematically depressed, in order to prevent her from becoming a formidable rival of England. Her great natural resources, her fertile soil, her noble rivers, her spacious harbours, were viewed with jealousy and suspicion, as means of securing future independence, and raising her to an eminence that would eclipse the glory of her illustrious rival. The Puritans promised to avert this terrible consummation. They offered, if their ascendancy was secured, to crush the energies of Ireland, to render the bounties of Providence unavailing, to produce wretchedness where God had given plenty, and to spread desolation where Nature had created a paradise. The English accepted the offer; and the Cromwellians kept their promise to the letter.

A. D. 1661.—The new parliament that met in Dublin was composed of the most heterogeneous materials. The House of Lords contained the shattered remnant of the ancient nobility—a body of men that might then challenge comparison with the proudest aristocracy in Europe. But the House of Commons consisted of the soldiers and adventurers who had seized on the corporations—men that had risen from the very lowest ranks, and were perfectly ignorant of the most ordinary usages of civilized society. The most whimsical and extraordinary anecdotes are traditionally told of the strange exhibitions

made by these men as magistrates* and country gentlemen; but they were themselves perfectly unconscious of their deficiencies. Spiritual pride and consummate impudence, founded equally on ignorance and self-sufficiency, brought them through all the scrapes in which they were frequently involved, whenever they came into contact with the crown or the Upper House. One of the first objects that engaged the attention of the new parliament, was the restoration of the Established Church, which, it was supposed, would encounter the most determined opposition. But Ormond, by whose advice the government was chiefly directed, had a plan for overcoming the scruples of the Puritans, which was found of wondrous efficacy. He brought on the question of the church establishment prior to the consideration of the settlement of estates; and the Puritans, more careful of their new lands than their old principles, cheerfully assented to the revival of Prelacy and the Liturgy, the destruction of which had been their primary object in taking up arms against their sovereign. With equal ready-

* One, if for nothing but its ingenuity, deserves to be recorded. A worthy magistrate, having occasion to write the word "usage," contrived to spell it without using a single letter of the original word; his improved orthography was *yowzitch*. When some remarks were made on similar feats, he averred, that "nobody could spell with pens made from the quills of Irish geese!" The following letter, ascribed to the same worthy, is said to be still in existence.

" DEER JOHN,

" I send you 2 pups for your 2 sisters, which are
2 bitches.

" I am,

" Your brethren in the Lord,

" T * * * * M * * *

" —— Castle, June 9th, 1663."

ness, they concurred in censuring their own old “solemn league and covenant,” and in condemning their former oaths of association. Their next proceeding was a curious sample of the kind of justice that the new ascendancy desired to establish. They voted an address to the Lords-justices, that the term should be adjourned, and the courts of law shut up, in order to prevent the reversal of outlawries, and the ejectment of adventurers or soldiers, before their titles should be adjusted by statute. The House of Lords refused, at first, to assent to such an open violation of the constitution ; but they were finally persuaded to concur in the address ; and the Lords-justices complied with the request.

A few Roman Catholics had been returned to this parliament by the counties, and one or two boroughs that still retained their affections for the “old families.” The presence even of these gave great pain to the Puritans ; they believed themselves polluted by coming into contact with the idolatrous Papists, and determined on their removal. A bill for imposing an oath of qualification was hastily prepared ; but it was unceremoniously rejected by the English privy council. They next attempted to exclude them by a vote of the house, declaring that all the members should take the oath of supremacy, and receive the sacrament from the hands of the primate ; but the Lords-justices condemned the resolution as an invasion of the Royal prerogative. This notable attempt to degrade a solemn ordinance of religion is the more remarkable, as the majority of those who voted for it were themselves at heart dissenters, and believed the sacraments of the church of England impure and unchristian. Disappointed in their efforts, the Puritans lost their temper, and exclaimed

violently against the unreasonable partiality of the government to Papists. With more prudence, they had recourse to a policy which, under similar circumstances, has been frequently found effective in Ireland. They revived the rumours of plots and conspiracies, averred that the Papists were on the point of raising a new insurrection, and, by this means, contrived to cover the obnoxious party with additional odium, at a time that they had to contend with them for their estates.

CHAPTER VI.

The Acts of Settlement and Explanation.

THE great business of the Irish parliament was, the formation of an act for the settlement of the kingdom, pursuant to the King's declaration. In the House of Commons, it was resolved to adhere strictly to the terms of that instrument, which had been worded so as to exclude almost all the Irish; but the Lords would by no means concur in such a determination. They naturally sympathized with the ancient gentry of the land, and felt indignant at seeing their properties usurped by men of low extraction, by whose vulgarity they were disgusted, by whose presumption they were subjected to annoyance and insult. At the head of those who determined to do something for the old proprietors, stood the Earl of Kildare, a nobleman possessing the old undaunted spirit of the Geraldines—strong in hereditary power and historic name—fortified by extensive connexions—and supported by Ormond, now a Duke, whose proxy he held. The principal object to which the attention of this party was directed, was the enlargement of the fund for reprisals. It was found, that the commissioners had been guilty of the most scandalous practices in granting these;

that they had rejected the claims of those whom the King had nominated, and those who served under his ensigns abroad, and shared the calamities of his exile, under pretence that there was no means of reprising the present possessors ; and that they had clandestinely granted the lands allotted for reprisals to their particular friends. The Lords insisted on a clause for the revocation of these fraudulent grants.

Another and more important clause tended greatly to diminish the claims of the adventurers. The English Parliament, not content with their lavish distribution of the lands of Ireland, by the 17th of Charles I., * acted on what they called the *Doubling-Ordinance*. This document declared, that who ever advanced one-fourth more than his original adventure, should have the whole doubled on account, and receive lands as if the double sum had been actually paid ; and that, if the adventurer refused to advance this fourth, any other person, on paying it, should reap the same advantage, on repaying the adventurer the sum he had originally advanced. Sir John Clotworthy, who had been lately created Lord Massarene, was a prime agent in procuring the enactment of this ordinance. He had, at the time, purchased up the shares of several adventurers ; and he now zealously contended, that the King was bound by the terms of the agreement. Kildane replied, that this ordinance could not be considered of the same validity as an act of Parliament ; that the money raised in obedience to it, had been used to pay the English army then fighting against the King ; and that it was absurd to require the sacrifice of so

* See the commencement of this volume.

least one hundred and fifty thousand acres, for which no consideration whatever had been received. In spite of Massarene's opposition, Kildare's clause, enacting that the adventurers should be satisfied only for the money advanced, and no more, was carried. The heads of the bill were at length finally determined. A copy was laid before the Lords-justices, and by them transmitted to England; whither went also commissioners from both Houses of Parliament, and accredited agents, to plead the cause of the Irish Catholics.

London became now the scene of the intrigues by which the fate of Irish property was to be decided. The adventurers and soldiers raised a considerable sum of money to bribe the English council; and the Irish House of Commons had secured the favour of the Duke of Ormond, by voting him a present of thirty thousand pounds. A stronger ground of hope was the favour of the English people, now fully awakened to the importance of the contest, and more prejudiced than ever against the Irish and the Papists, by the mass of calumnies which, through the means of their numerous friends and relatives, the Cromwellians zealously circulated throughout England. The Irish had neither money nor friends; nor did they atone for this deficiency by patience or prudence. Ormond, anxious to secure an interest with all parties, judiciously advised them to assume an humble tone, to appeal to the King's mercy, and to win favour by promises of future submissive behaviour. The Irish suspected the Duke's sincerity, and so far were perfectly right; but they rejected his advice, and spurned his assistance, in which they were decidedly wrong. With the fatality that marked all their measures, they chose, as their patron

Richard Talbot, afterwards Earl of Tyrconnel, who had been a companion of the King in exile, and was a personal friend of the Duke of York, but who, on this occasion, greatly overrated his own influence, and that of his patron. The Irish rested their claims upon right and justice. They contrasted their unshaken loyalty with the conduct of those who had brought their monarch to a scaffold ; and boldly claimed the fulfilment of the articles of peace that had been established in 1648. This demand was utterly inconsistent with the scheme of establishing an English interest in Ireland, of which Charles declared himself the patron ; and the Irish, rightly attributing this determination to the Duke of Ormond, sent Talbot to remonstrate with him on the subject. Talbot expostulated more like a soldier than a statesman. He challenged the Duke to single combat. Ormond had no inclination to fight ; he therefore complained to the Council. Talbot was instantly committed to the Tower, and only released on making humble submission.

This was a bad omen for the Irish, and might have shown them the danger of urging their claims with offensive vehemence. But they still persevered, and thus displeased Charles, who looked upon every concession made to them as an act of free grace and favour, and offended the Privy Council, many of whom were personally concerned in waging war against the late King. In the mean time, the popular clamour against the Irish was increased by every artifice that avarice and malignity could devise ; and as the English happened just then to labour under one of their periodical fits of insanity, they were easily made the dupes of designing men. Tales the most absurd were invented and believed—calumnies

not merely improbable, but physically impossible, were not found too gross for public credulity. The lie refuted to-day, was simply repeated on the morrow, and met general credence : again it was proved false, and again as regularly proclaimed as a fact. Charles had formed his determination from the very beginning, and had only protracted the discussion in the hope of finding some reasonable pretext for dismissing the Irish claimants. The Cromwellians saw his difficulties, and chance supplied them with the means of extrication. One of the agents appointed by the Irish was Sir Nicholas Plunket, who had taken an active part in the ruinous conferences at Jamestown, and whose name was actually signed to the tender of the crown of Ireland to the Pope. A draft of this document, how obtained Heaven only knows, was procured by the Cromwellian agents, and laid before the council. Charles affected indignation and surprise to perfection. An order was made, that no further petitions should be received from the Irish, who had been already fully heard ; and Sir Nicholas Plunket was forbidden to appear in his Majesty's presence. The bill, including the severe qualifications of innocence, received the Royal sanction, and soon after passed both Houses of the Irish Parliament.

The public history of this important transaction is not very intelligible. It is difficult to discover the reasons that induced the King to prefer the enemies of the royal authority to those who had been the most zealous friends of himself and his family. The dread of a new civil war, from the excited feelings of the English people, will scarcely account for the readiness with which he consented to the arrangement, though it certainly was a very influential mo-

tive ; and the scheme of establishing an English interest in Ireland, could have little charms for a monarch whose entire reign showed an utter disregard of the interests of the nations that were cursed by such a ruler. We do not possess any secret memoirs of the early part of this disgraceful reign ; and the private documents that have been collected are so filled with notorious falsehoods, that we cannot place confidence in a single statement that they contain. Indolence, and an anxiety to put an end to perplexing contests, was probably the principal cause of his precipitate decision.*

Besides confirming and extending the declaration and instructions, and providing for the appointment of commissioners to hear and decide claims, the act provided for the restoration of all church-lands, and the estates of Trinity College. Power was given to the commissioners, during seven years, to plant Protestant colonies on lands not restored ; and they were granted full authority to erect another college, to be of the University of Dublin, to be called by the name of the King's College, to be endowed with estates of the yearly value of £.2000, and to be governed by such statutes as his Majesty should appoint. The two latter clauses have, ever since, remained a dead letter.

The Act of Settlement was received with indignation by all the parties interested in its operation,

* Some of the Protestant historians gravely assign as the cause, and the justification of the King's robbery and ingratitude, that, " being a Protestant King, he could not trust Papist subjects ;" and many years have not elapsed since such an argument would have been deemed conclusive. But, unfortunately for this reasoning, Charles was, at the time, secretly a Papist himself.

and by none with fiercer anger than the adventurers and soldiers, for whose interests it best provided. The number of the Irish nobility and gentry nominated by the King to be restored in full, as objects of special favour, had been increased, which the Puritans deemed an unpardonable partiality to "the Popish interest," as they expressed it, though several of the nominees were Protestants. The restoration of church-property was scarcely less offensive to men who, in their secret souls, detested prelacy as much as papacy. And finally, the clause enacting, that no adventurer should be satisfied for more money than he had really advanced, in the language of Hotspur,

—“ comes me cranking in,
And cuts me from the best of all my land,
A huge half moon, a monstrous cantle out.”

The royalist Protestant officers found their security greatly diminished by some clauses of the act, especially by several large grants which were made to the Earl of Leicester and others. The Irish Catholics complained loudly and justly that they had not been heard fully before the Council, and that their agents had not been consulted in framing the act.

The only person capable of managing the complicated affairs of Ireland was the Duke of Ormond. He had been the chief instrument in bringing about the confusion and disarrangement which prevailed; and on him the task of restoring order necessarily devolved. He came over as Lord Lieutenant with unusual pomp, and was received with great warmth by all parties, each hoping that he would be the advocate of their claims. The commissioners appointed to consider the qualifications of innocency were

Englishmen ; they had been carefully selected on account of their attachment to the cause of Protestant ascendancy ; but they acted with more impartiality than the government either expected or desired. Rigorous as the qualifications of innocence had been made, in the first month of trials thirty-eight were pronounced innocent, and only seven nocent ; in the second, seven were declared guilty, and fifty-three acquitted ; in the third, seventy-seven were found innocent, and only five condemned. This was a result which nobody had anticipated. Ormond, who had devised the entire plan of the qualifications and commissions, was confounded. The Cromwellians, fearing that their plunder was about to be wrested from their hands, boldly determined to take up arms. A committee of the officers who had served in Cromwell's army met to organize the scheme of a general insurrection, and laid a plan for seizing the Castle of Dublin. The House of Commons was in a violent rage at the probability of seeing justice done to the Papists. They presented an address to the Lord Lieutenant, requiring him to make the qualifications still more rigorous, and suggesting such alterations as would have involved the whole Irish party in one sweeping condemnation. The whole House, with Sir Audley Mervyn the Speaker at their head, went up with the address ; and Mervyn, on presenting it, made an inflated speech, full of dark hints and mysterious warnings. Ormond received the address very coldly, and gave a very unsatisfactory reply. Mervyn resolved to appeal to the public, and printed his speech. Its quaint style and figurative obscurity was well suited to the temper of the times, and the prejudices of the people ; and the government, dreading its effects,

commenced prosecutions against the printers both in London and Dublin. The Commons, finding that their directions had not been adopted, passed a resolution, declaring, "that they would apply their utmost remedies to prevent and stop the great and manifold prejudices and inconveniences which daily did, and were likely to happen, to the Protestants of Ireland, by the proceedings of the commissioners for executing the Act of Settlement."

Ormond feared that the Puritans would destroy their own interests, and determined to save them in spite of themselves. He promptly arrested the principal leaders, and issued a proclamation, offering a reward for the apprehension of those who had escaped. But he did not venture to proceed with too much rigour against Protestant rebels; a few were executed, the rest received the King's pardon. The firmness of the Lord Lieutenant awed the violent faction in the House of Commons; they withdrew the obnoxious resolution, but at the same time they sent up an address, representing the danger arising from recusants, and from the confluence of priests, friars and jesuits; and requested that a proclamation should be issued, banishing all Popish ecclesiastics from the kingdom.

No less than four thousand claims were entered for trial before the commissioners; and from the number that had already established their innocence, there was reason to dread that the Catholic proprietors would recover a large portion of their estates. This was evaded by a new contrivance. The time for the sitting of the commissioners was limited to a certain number of days, during which only about one-fourth of the claims could be heard; the court then closed, and was never opened afterwards. About

three thousand of the most ancient and respectable Irish families were thus stripped of their property, without even the form of a trial, without enjoying a privilege not refused to the meanest criminal, that of being heard in their own defence. They made strong and earnest supplications to the King for redress ; but Charles, in compliance with the advice of his councillors, refused to pay the slightest regard to their petitions. Of course, they were finally and hopelessly ruined.

Every person was wearied out by the protracted discussions on Irish affairs : the uncertainty of their property, and the expense and trouble entailed on them while affairs remained in this unsettled condition, made the contending parties desire any conclusion. The London adventurers offered to resign their lands to the King, and to account for the mesne profits, on condition of being repaid their principal, with compound interest at three per cent. ; the adventurers and soldiers offered to relax their pretensions, in order to obtain a final settlement ; and the fund for reprisals was considerably augmented by the discovery of innumerable frauds, of which the commissioners had been guilty. They had given disproportionate satisfactions to their own friends, used admeasurements scandalously false, and returned some of the best land in the kingdom as barren and worthless. By the correction of these wrongs, a new and considerable addition was made to the stock of reprisals ; and, under these favourable circumstances, orders were given to prepare the "Act of Explanation and Final Arrangement." The only concession made to the Catholics whose claims had not been heard, was, that Ormond was permitted to nominate twenty out of the three thousand to be re-

stowed to their estates as objects of special favour; and even this grace proved so distasteful to those who made their zeal for Protestantism a cloak for their cupidity, that Ormond did not venture to present the bill to the House of Commons, until he had procured the removal of some of the most violent members.

By the Act of Explanation it was provided, that all lands and possessions vested in the King by the Act of Settlement, should be freed and discharged from all estates tail, and from all conveyances made before the 23d of October 1641, by any tenant in tail. *Persons not theretofore adjudged innocent, were for ever barred from any claim.* The adventurers and soldiers to be confirmed within two months. No adventurer, soldier, Forty-nine officer, or Protestant purchaser in Connaught or Clare, before the 1st of September 1663, in possession of lands restorable, to be removed, until he should have as much other forfeited land set out to him. All deficient adventurers to be satisfied in the same barony or county. Protestant officers serving before 1649 confirmed in lands not already decreed away by the commissioners. Protestant purchasers from transplanted persons to hold two-thirds, and no person to be reprised above two-thirds. All lands vested in the King, or restored by virtue of any decrees, or by this or the former act, subject to quitrents as in the former act, except the lands in Ulster, which were to be thenceforth charged at twopence per acre. In case of doubts or defects arising or appearing in the act, the commissioners might, within two years after their next sitting, acquaint the Lord Lieutenant and Council therewith; and that such order of amendment or explanation as they should make in

writing within the said two years, and enrolled in Chancery, should be as effectual as if it were part of the act.

In pursuance of this last clause, the commissioners proposed certain doubts to the Lord Lieutenant and Council, and an explanatory order was issued which may be considered part of the act. It declared, that all estates and possessions which, on the 23d of October 1641, or at any time since, belonged to any Irish Papist, or which had been returned by the civil survey or Down survey, as belonging to any Irish Papist, and which, at any time after the 23d of October 1641, were seized or sequestrated, or vested in his Majesty, upon account of the rebellion, (excepting such estates as had been decreed to innocents, and belonged to them on the 22d of October 1641, and excepting such lands as had been restored to the former proprietors, by some clause in the Acts of Settlement and Explanation, and excepting any lands for which some judgment or decree was held by a Protestant, in the late court, or pretended Court of Claims, or in any of the four courts before the 22d of August 1663), should at all times thereafter, in the four courts sitting in Dublin, and in all courts of justice, and in all trials, actions and suits, both in law and equity, as well between his Majesty and any of his subjects, as between party and party, without any further proof, should be always construed to have been seized, sequestrated, and, from the 23d of October aforesaid, forfeited to his Majesty, without any inquisition or office found, &c. And it further declared, that after the commissioners for executing the said acts have adjudged any of the said lands so vested in, or forfeited to his Majesty, to any person or persons who, by said acts, are entitled thereunto, and

letters-patent should be thereon passed, *the rights, titles and interests, of all persons whatsoever, who had been adjudged innocent, as well such as were Protestants as Papists,** *should be thereby concluded and barred for ever*, other than such rights and titles as should be reserved in the letters-patent, and such rights as are the proper act of the party, to whom such letters-patent shall be granted, or of those under whom he claims as heir, executor or administrator, and other than such debts, leases or payments, whereunto the same are, by the said act, made liable. It is also provided, that the said lands, &c. in the said letters-patent contained, should be by the said acts confirmed, according to the several estates thereby granted, against the King, and all other persons or bodies political or corporate. And finally, that all adventurers and soldiers, their heirs and assigns, should have and enjoy an estate of inheritance in fee-simple, in such lands as should be certified to belong to them, unless some lesser estate should be therein expressly limited ; and that in case such lesser estate should be so limited, the party should be revided out of other lands, so as to make up his other two-third parts, by the said acts intended to him, equal in worth and value to others, who should have estates in fee-simple certified and granted to them.

Such were the Acts of Settlement and Explanation, whose importance was not overrated by Sir Audley Mervyn, when he called them the “ *Magna Charta of Irish Protestants.* ” But what were they to the Catholics ? What, to the Irish nation ? At

* This apparent impartiality was a mere delusion ; for no Protestant was required to establish his qualifications of innocence, as appears from the King’s declaration and instructions quoted in a preceding page.

least two-thirds of the land in the entire country changed masters. The new proprietors felt conscious that their claims were not founded in strict justice, and were tormented with a sense of insecurity ; they looked upon the native Irish as their natural enemies, and dreaded every hour some new attempt for the recovery of the forfeited estates. This dread of resumption existed within our own memory ; and the probability that opening political power to the Catholics would lead to a claim for the restoration of property, was by no means a weak argument against the concession of Catholic emancipation. That these acts had no foundation in justice, is evident. That they were inconsistent with sound policy, is almost equally clear : they caused Ireland to retrograde in every thing that gives a nation value : they made her a drain on the wealth of England, when, from her natural resources, she might have become a source of additional wealth and security : they spread through the country a feeling that the English are the inveterate enemies of Ireland, which, though it never was perfectly just, and has long since lost even the semblance of justice, is not yet totally eradicated. It is difficult to make atonement for national injuries deep and long continued. The evil extends over the entire surface of society : the good will only be felt, or at least appreciated, by a few individuals.

The guilt of the Stuarts in thus abandoning to ruin innocent men to whom they were bound by every tie of honour and gratitude, did not go unpunished. James II. suffered for the crimes of his brother as well as for his own follies. If the Cromwellian party in Ireland had sunk into the same obscurity as their brethren in England, there would

probably have been no resistance to the despotism of the Stuarts : James might have kept his throne, and England lost its constitution. But the wise dispensations of Providence in this instance, as in countless others, produced universal good from partial evil. The reformed religion and the civil liberties of Europe, depended then on the preservation of freedom in England ; and, but for the strong support that the English patriots possessed in the Cromwellian settlement, they probably would have failed in the contest. Ireland alone paid the price by which European liberties were purchased, though she reaped little advantage from their blessings.

The conduct of the Duke of Ormond in these transactions has been the theme of unmeasured praise, and equally unmeasured censure. Yet is there no point of fact at issue between his advocates and his opponents. If, for the sake of establishing a Protestant interest in Ireland, it was lawful, and even praiseworthy, to commit treachery, fraud, and universal robbery, then may we join in all the eulogiums that have been heaped upon him ; but if the best end cannot sanctify the worst means—if Mammon and Moloch be unworthy allies to the cause of pure religion—then must we condemn him as one who sacrificed upright principle to questionable policy, and was guilty of atrocious evil to effect a doubtful good. The most instructive commentary on his conduct is the simple fact, that, before the civil war, his estates only yielded him about L.7000 per annum ; but, after the final settlement, his annual income was upwards of L.80,000, more than ten times the former amount. He felt, to the last hour of his life, a lurking consciousness, that the part he had acted would not bear a close examination ; and writh-

ed under the attacks made on him in pamphlets by the men he had betrayed and undone. One of these, named "The Unkind Deserter," is distinguished by its superior ability and deep pathos. There are few who could read the simple and touching details of the writer's statements, without pity for the deserted, and indignation against the deserter. Ormond attempted no reply; he suppressed the book, and threw the printer into prison; but he was afraid to give the matter additional publicity, by bringing the question into a court of justice.

There was a time when it would have been neither safe nor prudent to detail the facts recorded in this chapter; but that time is now past for ever. The Roman Catholics are now as much interested in supporting the Cromwellian settlement as the Protestants. The vicissitudes of property, especially within the last thirty years, have brought into their hands an immense share of the lands which their ancestors forfeited; and time has effaced the lineage of the ancient proprietors. There is no longer any prudential motive for concealing the truth; and it has been, therefore, told as amply as our limits would permit, and yet not without some feelings of reluctance; for the writer, being himself descended from Cromwellian settlers, would gladly have given a more favourable account of their proceedings, if he could have done so with truth.

CHAPTER VII.

The Reign of Charles II.

A. D. 1666.—THE restoration of Charles II. produced none of the advantages which the English nation had fondly anticipated, and the prospect of which had induced them to hail that event with such rapturous joy. Many of the Puritans were driven, by persecution, to seek an asylum in Holland and the American plantations. The clergy of the established church had not unlearned the intolerance which had so large a share in causing the late civil war ; and their violence drove into exile the most valuable, because the most industrious classes of the community. The strength of the Puritans lay in the middle ranks—the comfortable farmers, the merchants, and the opulent tradesmen. On the side of the establishment were ranged the highest and lowest classes, supported by the entire strength of government. The alliance between the church and state, in the reigns of the second Charles and James, rested on neither principle nor affection, for both sovereigns were, in the worst sense of the word, Papists. It was a mutual compact for purposes not very honourable to either. The clergy supported despotism and arbitrary power, by preaching the doctrines of

passive obedience and non-resistance ; and obtained from the state in return the power of oppressing the dissenters by Acts of Uniformity. The loss of industrious artisans was further aggravated by the diminution of foreign trade, consequent on the war with Holland, and the subserviency of the English court to France. To these causes of national distress must be added the effects of the plague, and the dissipation of the national finances by a profligate monarch and his demoralized courtiers. The attention of the English House of Commons was called to the alarming fall of rents ; and all the scientific ingenuity of the period was employed to account for this depreciation. The solution, though in its effects productive of deplorable mischief, was so perfectly ludicrous, that it is scarce possible to believe the authors of it serious. The philosophic economists of the day averred, that the sole cause of English distress was the importation of lean cattle from Ireland ! This profound exposition was received with universal applause. The English nation, with one accord, denounced Irish cattle as the cause of all their miseries. Petitions to prevent the introduction of the obnoxious animals were presented in countless numbers to the King and Parliament ; and, at length, a bill was introduced into the House of Commons, then sitting at Oxford, for prohibiting perpetually the importation of Irish cattle, dead or alive, fat or lean, great or small.

The long civil war, the voluntary exile of the gentry, who had taken with them all their moveable property, and the prohibition of all foreign trade which England inflicted on her dependent provinces, had reduced Ireland to a most miserable condition. She had no commerce, no manufactures ; cattle and

wool were her only exports ; and the exclusion of the former from the only market open to the Irish, threatened absolute ruin. Some of the wisest English statesmen, and especially Sir Heneage Finch, attempted to expose the delusion ; but only increased the national insanity. Lord Castlehaven opposed the bill with all his might in the Upper House ; and Sir William Petty, one of the few who acquired an estate in Ireland by honourable means, made an able speech against it before a committee of the Commons. By these exertions, the report was delayed, and the session terminated by a prorogation. The dreadful fire of London for a short time distracted public attention ; but the dispute about Irish cattle survived the flames, and even derived additional strength from the conflagration. When the news of the calamity reached Ireland, the Irish determined to raise a contribution for the relief of the sufferers ; and, as they had neither silver nor gold, they generously sent them a present of cattle. The vision of Pharaoh's lean kine was not interpreted to portend a more fearful visitation than this ill-starred donation. It was industriously represented as an attempt to evade the prohibition under the pretext of benevolence, and a universal clamour was raised through the kingdom.

The infamous party, known by the name of the Cabal, from the initials of the leaders, Clifford, Arlington, Buckingham, Ashley and Lauderdale, were foremost in maintaining the popular excitement. Their object was to remove Clarendon from the office of chancellor, and Ormond from the government of Ireland, because they deemed these noblemen impediments to the scheme of power which they meditated ; and to effect their purpose, there

were no means, however iniquitous, which they would not readily have adopted. The King had the good sense to see that there was not the slightest connection between the public distress and Irish cows. He was also unwilling to injure a nation wantonly and unprofitably ; and he not only declared himself opposed to the bill, but passionately asserted that it should never receive his assent. The Commons cared little for the Royal inclinations ; the unjust war which Charles had undertaken against the Dutch, had completely exhausted the exchequer, and placed the King at the mercy of the Parliament. A bill, declaring in its preamble that the importation of Irish cattle was *a nuisance*, passed the Lower House with wondrous unanimity, and was sent up to the Lords. Their Lordships, instead of "*a nuisance*," introduced the words, "a detriment and mischief." The Commons refused to concur in the amendment ; and an angry conference, in which neither party seemed disposed to recede, took place on this important topic. The debates in the Lords were conducted with disgraceful heat and violence, but at the same time with such a ludicrous perversion of words and ideas, that it is difficult to conceive why the contest did not terminate in general roars of laughter. Arlington insisted that the importation of Irish cattle should be declared "*a nuisance*." Lord Ashley, with affected moderation, proposed that it should be called only "*a premunire or a felony*." Clarendon, with more wit, and as much reason, suggested as an amendment, that it should be deemed "*adultery*." The Duke of Buckingham declared, that "none could oppose the bill but such as had Irish estates, or Irish understandings." The gallant Ossory, Ormond's eldest

son, a young nobleman of talent, virtue and spirit, was roused by this national insult, and sent a challenge to the Duke. But Buckingham dreaded Irish courage as much as he affected to despise Irish understandings ; he declined to accept the challenge, but made his complaint to the House, and Ossory was sent to the Tower. Ashley declaimed with malignant violence against the Irish subscription, and all by whom it had been promoted. Ossory retorted, “ that such virulence became none but one of Cromwell’s counsellors.” At length the King, finding that, if the resistance was protracted, the Commons would refuse the supplies, requested his friends to give up any further opposition, and the bill, with the “ nuisance ” clause, was finally passed. In giving his assent, however, Charles complained bitterly of the harsh treatment he had experienced ; and to compensate the Irish for the loss of their trade, he issued a proclamation, permitting them “ to hold commercial intercourse with every country, whether at peace or war with his Majesty.”

Ormond zealously exerted himself to avert the evils which the cruel jealousy of England threatened to inflict on the country that he governed. He determined to establish manufactures in Ireland ; and for this purpose invited over the most skilful artificers from Brabant and Flanders, whom he planted on his own estates at Clonmel and Carrick-on-Suir, and at Chapelizod in the county of Dublin. He procured an Act of Parliament for the encouragement of the linen-manufacture ; and successfully laboured to improve the cultivation of flax. But he was stopped in the midst of his career by the intrigues of his enemies in England, aided by some Irish nobles who were jealous of his power. Of

these the most formidable was the Earl of Orrery, who, under the title of Lord Broghill, has already filled a considerable space in this history. His intrigues, though conducted with great secrecy, became known to Ormond ; and when Orrery departed for England, the Duke, having appointed his son Ossory his deputy, followed him thither in order to watch and counteract his machinations. The Cabal was too powerful to be resisted. Arlington waited on Ormond, and informed him that his Majesty had determined to remove him from the office of Lord Lieutenant, which was given to Lord Robarts. The new chief governor was not permitted to rule long. He dissatisfied every party, and displayed so much stubbornness and incapacity that he was removed ; and Lord Berkeley of Stratton, a creature of Buckingham's, appointed his successor.

Some time before these changes, a schism took place among the Irish Catholics, respecting the measure of obedience due to a temporal sovereign. Peter Walsh, a Franciscan friar, had been employed by his clerical brethren to draw up a Remonstrance to the King against the severity shown to the Catholic priesthood ; and in performing this task, he disavowed the temporal authority of the Pope in the strongest terms, and zealously supported the Anglican doctrines of passive obedience and non-resistance. The papal internuncio at Brussels condemned the doctrines in the Remonstrance as schismatic, and inconsistent with the obedience due to the Apostolic See. The Jesuits censured them, as contrary to the dogmas maintained by the fathers of the church ; and a majority of the Irish prelates concurred in these censures. Two parties were at once formed—the Remonstrants and the Anti-remon-

strants. Like the Vetoists and Anti-vetoists in our own age, they wasted, in these idle discussions, the time and the talents which, judiciously exerted, might have greatly improved their political condition. The leaders of the ascendancy in Ireland were by no means sorry to see the objects of their jealousy and fear lavishing their energies in these idle discussions. They naturally and justly showed favour to the Remonstrants, and as naturally exposed them thereby to the suspicions of the entire Catholic community.

Lord Berkeley's administration filled the Protestants with alarms which were not altogether groundless. He permitted the Catholic prelates to exercise their functions in public; he granted commissions of the peace to several of the Catholic gentry; and admitted some individuals of that persuasion into corporations. Complaints were made, both in England and Ireland, that government was indisposed to maintain "the Protestant ascendancy," as the monopoly of power, place and profit, enjoyed by the dominant religion, was called. Tales of conspiracies, plots, and threatened massacres, were revived, and eagerly spread, by those who were so deeply interested in exaggerating the dangers of Popery. The crosses which the lower orders of the Catholics affix to their doors on Corpus Christi Day, were said to be placed there as marks for the destroyers to pass by; and these symbols, raised by superstition to scare witches and malignant demons, were asserted to have been the invention of treason to avert massacre. But the Cromwellians had soon greater cause for alarm. The Catholics, through Talbot, complained of several gross frauds that had been practised on persons of their religion in the matter of

reprisals, and obtained from the King commissioners of inquiry, “to search out and represent the defects of papers or warrants for justifying any clauses contrary to the King’s declaration, the first ground of settlement.” The Cromwellians acted with their usual promptitude and vigour; they appealed to the people of England against the designs of the court; and the appeal was answered by people and parliament, with a force which Charles was unable to resist. Lord Berkeley was removed from the government of Ireland, and the commission of inquiry was superseded.

The brief administration of Essex produced nothing remarkable. He was a nobleman of strict integrity, and some talent; but he wanted energy of character, and could not understand the anomalous condition of Ireland. He found numberless difficulties in executing the Act of Settlement; and in his letters declared, that he could compare the distribution of lands “to nothing better than flinging the reward, upon the death of the deer, among a pack of hounds, where every one pulls and tears what he can for himself.” Essex became weary of so distracted a country; and, disgusted with the difficulties to which he was exposed by the duplicity of the King, and the rapacity of the courtiers, he solicited leave to resign, and was succeeded by the Duke of Ormond. This unexpected appointment gave rise to much speculation; for Ormond had been long under a cloud, and had been treated with mortifying coldness ever since his removal from office. But, in truth, the King had no choice; for Ormond was the only man alive who thoroughly understood the state of parties in Ireland, and had sufficient in-

fluence with the leaders of all to restrain their excesses.

Ormond had not long returned to the government, when he was astounded by receiving from England intelligence of the discovery of an alarming plot. The Lord Lieutenant had too much experience in the manufacture of plots himself, not to discover at once the nature of the pretended discoveries made by Tongue and Oates; but he knew also the danger of discrediting popular delusion, and he pretended an alarm which he did not feel. It is impossible to discover the real authors of that mystery of iniquity and absurdity called *the Popish Plot*. If, as there is reason to suppose, it was originally contrived by Shaftesbury * and his party, we must not conclude that they either expected or wished for the disgraceful scenes that followed. They could not have anticipated the monstrous credulity that swallowed the tales told by Oates, Bedloe, Dangerfield, and the other herd of informers, full of inconsistencies, improbabilities, contradictions, and even physical impossibilities. Every Englishman must wish, that the pages recording these scenes of national injustice, insanity and disgrace, could be blotted for ever from the history of his country; but yet it is well that they should remain, to prove that bigotry, and its attendant ferocious persecution, has not been monopolized by any single sect or denomination, and that the excesses of "zeal without knowledge" belong not to any particular creed, but are the consequences of ignorance and prejudice, worked upon by the unprincipled and the designing.

* Anthony Ashley Cooper, Earl of Shaftesbury. He has been already mentioned in this history under his first title, Lord Ashley.

The contrivers of the plot saw that its truth would be at once questioned, if all mention of Ireland was omitted ; for if such horrors as they described were prepared for England, where the number of the Catholics was inconsiderable, what was to be expected in Ireland, where they formed the great bulk of the population ? Unfortunately for the plotters, however, they were unacquainted with the circumstances of Ireland, and, proceeding by guess, fell into some outrageous blunders. They averred, that the leaders of the threatened Irish insurrection were, Peter Talbot, the Catholic Archbishop of Dublin, Lord Mountgarret, and Colonel Peppard. Orders were consequently sent over by the English Council to have the persons of these dangerous traitors secured. Ormond proceeded to obey these commands. He found Talbot in the last stage of a painful and dangerous disease, and Lord Mountgarret bed-ridden from old age, and arrested them without any difficulty ; but Colonel Peppard escaped all researches, for the simple reason, that no such person had been ever in existence ! Their next guess was equally unhappy. They assured the Lord Lieutenant, that a vessel, laden with arms and ammunition, for the use of Popish rebels, was actually on her way to Waterford. Orders to have the vessel seized, and strictly searched, were issued. She arrived, and was found to contain nothing but a cargo of salt.

Ormond yielded so far to the clamour of the times, as to issue two proclamations, which, by their severity and injustice, ought to have satisfied the ardent zeal of the fiercest Puritan. He first ordered, that the relations of known Tories * should be commit-

* The Tories were the remains of the armies that had been

ted to prison, until such Tories were killed or brought to justice ; and that any parish-priest of any place, where robbery or murder had been committed by these Tories, should be committed to prison, and thence transported, unless, within fourteen days, the guilty persons were killed or taken, or such discovery made as would lead to their apprehension. The second forbade the Catholics to enter the Castle of Dublin, or any other fort, without special permission from the authorities ; and ordered that fairs and markets should be held outside cities and corporate towns, and that the peasants should attend them unarmed. The English plotters were not satisfied ; they recommended Ormond to arrest all the nobility and gentry of Irish name, and to banish the Catholic inhabitants from every city and walled town. The Lord Lieutenant clearly understood the meaning of these hints. They wished that the Irish should be goaded into rebellion by severity, and thus at once afford a pretext for new confiscations, and confirm the plot, whose credit was greatly shaken by the continued tranquillity of Ireland. But Ormond, with all his faults, was above practising the arts of the unprincipled Parsons, and, besides, was too proud to be the instrument of others' guilt. He persevered in a course of moderation ; and Ireland, to the sore annoyance of the zealous Protestant lead-

disbanded after the civil wars had terminated, joined by such of the peasantry as had been driven from their homes, when the lands of Ireland changed masters under the Act of Settlement. These banditti committed several outrages : but none of such a character as to entitle them to the name of insurgents. They were, in fact, nothing more than common robbers.

ers, remained undisturbed even by the semblance of rebellion.

Such conduct exposed Ormond to the dangerous imputation of being “a stifler of the plot”—a character at that time deemed almost, if not altogether, as wicked as that of an active conspirator. The conduct of the Lord Lieutenant was consequently severely censured in many of the violent pamphlets with which the English press teemed at the time; and Shaftesbury ventured to repeat these insinuations in the House of Lords. The defence made for his father by the gallant Ossory, covered the Cabal with confusion. Of Shaftesbury’s character, which was not well calculated to bear a rigid examination, he made such an exposure, as effectually deterred him from all similar attacks for the future. But an Irish victim was necessary to the contrivers of the plot; and their choice fell on Oliver Plunket, the titular archbishop of Armagh. This unfortunate prelate had been conspicuous for his attachment to the government, and had actually been exposed to the suspicions of his brethren, for attempting to restrain their violence in the disputes about the Remonstrance. He was dragged over to England as a prisoner, and brought to trial for a crime alleged to have been committed in Ireland. Connor, Lord M’Guire, had been tried in the same way, for participating in the conspiracy of 1641, and had been refused the privilege of trial by his peers; though he was undoubtedly guilty, the illegality of bringing him before a foreign tribunal is not the less glaring. The Grand Jury, on the first occasion, threw out the bill against Plunket; but the informers gained fresh accomplices, and succeeded better in a second attack. The accused was refused time to bring witnesses from Ire-

land ; and his defence was confined to pointing out the inconsistencies and improbabilities of the evidence against him, which were indeed sufficiently glaring. In those evil days, innocence was but a frail defence. Plunket was found guilty, and executed. In his last moments, he protested his innocence in the most solemn manner, disavowing all equivocation, and pertinently adding, that, if he acknowledged the truth of what had been laid to his charge, no human being acquainted with the circumstances of Ireland could attach the least credit even to his dying confession. The House of Commons endeavoured to avert the effect produced by this declaration, and voted that there was a plot in Ireland ; but as they were unable to adduce any evidence of its existence, they only accelerated the recovery of the people from their delusion.

A. D. 1681.—The tide of popular frenzy began soon to turn ; the fury against the Papists had passed away, exhausted even by its own violence ; the dying declarations of innocence made by all the victims, began at length to produce a salutary effect ; and when the venerable Earl of Stafford, the last that fell a sacrifice to the popular delusion, declared, on the scaffold, his utter ignorance of the plot, the multitude responded with tears, “ We believe you, my Lord ! ” The rejection of the “ Exclusion Bill ” by the Lords, notwithstanding Shaftesbury’s vigorous exertions, completed the ruin of the Cabal. They stimulated the House of Commons to fresh violence ; but Charles no longer regarded their anger, when he saw them deserted by the people ; and put an end to their power by dissolving the parliament.

The consequences of this revulsion are full of instruction. The whole herd of spies and informers

turned on their employers ; and the King was enabled to pursue his designs of establishing Popery and arbitrary power, by the very instruments which his antagonists had provided. The best and brightest of England's patriots, Russell and Sydney, perished on a scaffold, by the same abominable arts which their party had used for the destruction of others. Shaftesbury, the great patron of the Popish plot, died in misery and exile, unhonoured, unpitied, and unlamented. The state of the Irish Protestants, during the remainder of this dishonourable reign, was full of doubt and uncertainty ; they suspected that Charles meditated the subversion of the Act of Settlement, and the restoration of the Irish Catholics to property and power. Their hearts sunk within them : they were no longer the compact, war-like body, which had been able to dictate its own terms at the Restoration. The fire of enthusiasm was extinct. Age had broken down the strength of the ancient warriors ; or they had been removed, and their places filled by young men, who had not been trained and hardened in the stern school of poverty. Ormond readily offered his aid to establish despotism in the British dominions, and professed the most abject devotion to the royal will ; but as he was personally interested in maintaining the Act of Settlement, it was determined to remove him from the government. Though now far advanced in the decline of life, and deprived of his gallant son Ossory, the aged nobleman clung to place and power with all his former tenacity. But his compliances were in vain. He received a letter from the King, declaring that " he found it absolutely necessary for his service to make many and very general changes in Ireland ; and that, for this purpose, it was necessary to remove

Ormond from the government, and transfer his power to the Earl of Rochester." Before these contemplated changes could be effected, Charles died ; and the accession of his brother James II. opened a new scene, sufficiently important to merit a separate consideration. It is now unnecessary to draw the character of Charles, for all writers of late years have united in his condemnation. The effects of his reign on the state and fortunes of Ireland need not be recapitulated : they are sufficiently evident in the subsequent history of the country.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Reign of James II.

A. D. 1684.—WHEN James II. ascended the throne, political profligacy had reached a height in England which can scarcely be paralleled in the annals of any age or nation. The monarch and his courtiers were the pensioned slaves of Louis XIV., and the patriots of the opposition were bribed by French gold. Louis dreaded the opposition of England to the plan of universal empire which he had formed, and it was his object to keep the country weak by perpetual distractions. If the monarch became absolute, he would cease to be a dependent on foreign bounty, and the advocates of freedom were consequently bribed to do their duty. If the constitution was permanently established, England would resume her fit station as protectress of the liberties of Europe; and the King was therefore paid for preventing a parliament from being assembled. The Dutch, threatened with destruction by the ambitious Louis, looked to England for aid and protection; but, aware of the general corruption, distributed large sums both to placemen and patriots. Thus, there were many sold at the same time both to France and Holland, who, to do them justice, dealt out impartial treachery to both. In such general corruption, it

would have been difficult for the new King to have found a faithful friend and an honest adviser; but James was equally incapable of feeling or inspiring friendship, and of profiting by judicious advice. Proud, narrow-minded, bigoted and obstinate, he rushed on, reckless of consequences, to effect designs which required the utmost coolness and caution. His very virtues were among the chief causes of his ruin; for had he been as capable of dissimulation as his father or brother, he might have wielded a despotic sceptre, not merely with the tacit approbation, but with the active assistance of the party that took the lead in hurling him from the throne. The clergy of the established church, with good reason, dreaded the Dissenters as much, if not more, than the Catholics. They were loud in proclaiming the slavish doctrine of unconditional obedience to the mandates of the sovereign, and their address on the accession of James could not be exceeded in servility by that of the meanest slaves that ever grovelled at the feet of an Eastern despot.

Nor was James, at his accession, unpopular with the great body of his English subjects. He had served in the navy during his brother's reign, and obtained some celebrity for skill and courage, which probably he may have merited. The love of the naval service, which has been ever a strong passion in English bosoms, made them hail a sailor-king, in spite of his religion, with pride and pleasure. Some few leaders of the Whigs, who had so strenuously laboured for the "Bill of Exclusion," maintained a jealous silence, and watched his proceedings with suspicion; but, in the general applause of the nation, their conduct was not noticed, or, if noticed, was disregarded.

But the condition of the Protestants of Ireland made them view the accession of a Roman Catholic sovereign with very different feelings. The dangers to be dreaded from Popery formed the chief title to their estates, for it furnished the only semblance of justification for the extensive confiscations which the Act of Settlement had sanctioned; but they clearly saw that such a plea could scarcely be urged to a sovereign who himself was a professor of that religion. The Irish Catholics were filled with joy, which they did not attempt to conceal, and took a mischievous pleasure in observing the bad grace with which their enemies, the Cromwellians, uttered the most extravagant professions of loyalty to a monarch whom they very heartily detested. Both parties, by a very natural mistake, gave James more credit than he deserved. Like all the Stuarts, he was determined to maintain what he chose to call "the English interest in Ireland;" and, even though it was identified with "Protestant ascendancy," it was with great reluctance that he allowed his zeal for his religion to conquer his attachment to this principle of hereditary policy.

Ormond was removed from his post of Lord Lieutenant, and bore the deprivation very badly. He was succeeded by two Lords-justices, Boyle the Primate and Chancellor, and Forbes Earl of Granard. This appointment, which was designed to conciliate both classes of Protestants, the Churchmen and the Dissenters, gave mutual dissatisfaction to both. The Puritans alleged, that Boyle's Protestantism differed very little from Popery, and in truth they were not much mistaken. The churchmen asserted that Granard was a favourer of the sectaries, and a bitter enemy of the establishment.

For the latter part of the imputation against the Earl, there were no grounds whatever ; and the only reason for the former was, that Granard had protected the dissenting preachers, when the Protestant bishops were about to persecute them, in the same manner as their brethren in England.

The Cromwellians had degenerated from the courage, but not from the prudence of their ancestors. They refused to have any share in Monmouth's rebellion, not from disinclination to his cause, but from a well-grounded distrust in his firmness and abilities. They even sent congratulations to the King, on his having subdued a pretender to his throne. But James was not duped by these professions ; he sent an order to the Lords-justices to disarm the militia, which consisted chiefly of Protestants, under the pretence that the ramifications of Monmouth's conspiracy extended to Ireland. The suppression of this rebellion was among the chief causes of James's ruin. The cruelties of the inhuman Jefferies and the brutal Kirke, alienated the affections of the people ; while the fulsome adulation of the clergy induced the King to believe, that no resistance would be made to his future projects. The execution of Monmouth deserves the character which Fouché gave to the murder of the Duc d'Enghein,—“ It was worse than a crime, 'twas a blunder.” While Monmouth lived, the hopes of the Protestants were divided between him and the Prince of Orange ; but, on his death, the attention of the public was fixed solely on William ; and men began already to speculate on the probable changes that would be made when he ascended the throne.

Talbot being created Earl of Tyrconnel, eagerly looked for the Lord Lieutenancy of Ireland ; but

James could not yet venture on so bold a step, and he intrusted the administration to his brother-in-law, the Earl of Clarendon. The army in Ireland was intrusted to Tyrconnel ; and he soon began to model it into a form more suited to the royal designs, and the interests of his faction. Protestant officers were removed, and their commissions given to Catholics ; soldiers that had grown gray in the service, were turned off without any compensation, and their places filled by those whom they regarded as their enemies. Though Clarendon was himself a Protestant, he so far yielded to the Royal inclinations, as to promote Catholics to the Bench, and admit them into the privy council ; while, at the same time, he studiously discouraged the leaders of the Protestants. The partiality shown by James to persons of his own religion, though meriting censure, was by no means so exclusive as the conduct of Ormond and other Protestant governors had been, for they never employed a Catholic in any official capacity ; yet has it been more severely reprobated ; for the Irish Protestants had persuaded themselves and others that they had an exclusive right to power and place. They deemed that something of their own was taken away, when a Catholic was appointed to office ; and the transfer of political power to this obnoxious sect, they looked upon as an act of public robbery. The Cromwellians would have regarded an impartial government that selected its officers for merits, unconnected with their descent and religious opinions, as a grievance. They were consequently roused to the highest pitch of indignation, when they saw themselves excluded from all public employments.

They were alarmed for the security of their estates,

and lived in constant dread of some change being made in the Acts of Settlement and Explanation. The old proprietors openly expressed their hopes of obtaining justice from a prince of their own religion ; and the English press teemed with pamphlets, attacking and defending the cause of the settlers. "The Coventry Letter," written by Sir Richard Nagle, an Irish barrister of eminence, was the most powerful pamphlet that appeared in the entire controversy. It attacked the Act of Settlement with uncommon vigour ; and at this day the most bigoted partisan must confess, that its arguments are unanswerable. An anonymous reply, entitled, "The State of Ireland, with a Vindication of the Act of Settlement," deserves also to be rescued from the oblivion to which such productions are usually consigned. It meets all the arguments of Nagle with great ingenuity ; and it is honourably distinguished by a spirit of candour, which no other production on the same side has exhibited.* A brief abstract from this pamphlet will enable the reader to form some judgment of the state of the question at issue, between the Cromwellians and the ancient Irish proprietors. The writer begins by declaring, that he had a personal interest in the maintenance of the Act of Settlement ; and that one principal cause of his writing was, to inform his heirs by what title they should hold their property. Proceeding to the subject, he candidly acknowledges his doubts, whether the civil war of 1641 could properly be called

* A more extensive analysis of this celebrated pamphlet is given in O'Driscol's History of Ireland ; but the work itself deserves an attentive perusal, and ought to have a place in every Irish historical library.

" a rebellion ;" but adds, that he is forced to consider it as such. He then assigns his reasons for considering this arming a rebellion ; and, though they are not very conclusive, they are at least ingenuous. He quotes the preambles of several acts of the English parliament, in which the arming of the confederates is declared to be a rebellion ; and then gravely proves, that an Act of Parliament is the highest authority in the realm. Anticipating the obvious answer, that the English parliament was at this very time preparing to wage war on the King; he adds, that the confederates made two treaties of peace with the sovereign ; but there could be no necessity of a treaty, unless the parties were at war ; and if the Irish were at war with their King, it necessarily followed that they were " rebels." The latter part of this reasoning unfortunately applied more forcibly to the Cromwellians than the Irish ; for the latter had always shown a personal regard for the King, while the former had persecuted him to the death. The author, however, escapes from all consideration of this difficulty, and winds up this part of his case by declaring, that the Irish had rebelled against the supremacy of England !

The treaties which the King had concluded with the confederates presented a new difficulty, which seems to have given the author no little trouble ; for his defence on this subject is inconsistent. He says, that some of the Irish violated the articles of peace, and therefore, by their own act, excluded themselves from its benefit ; but as this only applied to the nuncio's party, which contained a very small portion of the Irish nobility and gentry, he finally asserts, that these treaties were, *ab initio*, null and void, for the strange reason, that they contain-

several articles which it was unreasonable for subjects to impose upon their sovereign.

The chief of what he considers unreasonable articles is, the claim of independence for the Irish legislature. The author strongly urges the right of the English parliament to make laws that should bind Ireland, and vigorously defends the policy and propriety of Poyning's Law. These were, of course, the sentiment of the Cromwellians at the time. Their chief recommendation to the favour and protection of the English nation was their professed design of keeping Ireland a dependent province. Nor were they singular in their attachment to such wretched policy. The miserable James, after he had lost the crown of England, clung to Poyning's Law with his characteristic obstinacy, and positively refused to sanction the independence of the Irish parliament. It was not until after the lapse of a century, that the Cromwellians adopted contrary opinions. When, to use the forcible language of the Irish peasantry, "their hearts had warmed to the soil," they resolved to raise Ireland to the rank of a nation; and, by their successful struggle in 1782, nobly vindicated the character of the confederates in 1648.

A much more cogent argument urged by the writer of this pamphlet, is the length of time that the Cromwellians had been in possession, and the various contracts and bargains that had been made on the faith of the Act of Settlement. He confesses that many frauds had been committed in the distribution of reprisals; but he plausibly argues, that it would be better for all parties to submit to such injustice, than expose the country to the insecurity and distractions consequent on a new revolution in property.

But the continuance of this discussion produced this feeling of insecurity to an alarming extent. Many of the Irish Protestants quitted their estates, through dread of some approaching convulsion, and became mendicant exiles in England and Holland. To complete their terror, they received information that Clarendon was recalled, and their great enemy Tyrconnel appointed Lord Lieutenant. Richard Talbot, Earl of Tyrconnel, was but a child when the war of the confederates broke out. He was in Drogheda when that town was stormed by Cromwell, and the inhuman massacre perpetrated. This event made a deep impression on his youthful mind, and inspired him with a horror of the Puritans, which he took little pains to conceal. When Ireland was subdued by the Cromwellians, he retired to the Continent, entered into the service of Charles, and adhered to him with undeviating fidelity during the entire period of his adversity. He is said to have proposed the assassination of Cromwell, and at another time to have attempted the life of Ormond; but these are the calumnies of his enemies. He was fierce and violent, but he was incapable of baseness or treachery. Tyrconnel professed the Roman Catholic religion; but it was only a profession; for he had been infected by the infidelity fashionable in the court of the second Charles. He did not even affect religious zeal, for he was too proud to be a hypocrite; but regarded all religious differences as important only in their connexion with political factions. His temper was violent, his manners coarse, his private conduct rather profligate, and his conversation too often indecent and profane. He owed his appointment, in a great measure, to French in-

fluence ; and on several occasions acted as the lieutenant of Louis, rather than of James.

The day of Clarendon's departure displayed a scene of unparalleled consternation in Dublin. Not less than fifteen hundred Protestant families abandoned their homes and occupations, and embarked with the retiring governor for England. Some of these were influenced by imaginary terrors : they saw Popery, the object of their abhorrence, triumphant, and expected to behold all the fearful visions of the Apocalypse realized. Others thought that it would be sinful to continue in a land which had now become "the kingdom of the Beast ;" and not a few more rationally dreaded, that the injuries which they had themselves inflicted upon the Irish would soon be fearfully retaliated. The general alarm was not diminished by the new judicial appointments. Fitton, a recent convert to the royal religion, was appointed chancellor, though by no means fit for the situation ; Nugent obtained one chief-justiceship, and Rice the other ; Sir Richard Nagle was appointed attorney-general ; and, finally, only three Protestants remained on the Bench. This partiality was scandalous ; but it is perfectly ridiculous to find those who imitated and exceeded it, the loudest in its condemnation. The system of exclusion was carried to an excess by the Protestants, which their antagonists never equalled ; nor, at the moment of their greatest power, do we find any one proposing to establish a Catholic ascendancy in Ireland. But the Protestant historians, who so loudly and so justly reprobate the placing a majority of Catholic judges on the Bench, seem never to have thought, that the same censures might as justly be applied to a bench exclusively Protestant. The proceedings with regard

to corporations were more flagrantly iniquitous ; they were forced into a surrender of their charters ; and a new arrangement was made, which provided, that these bodies should consist, for the future, of two-thirds Catholics, and one-third Protestants. It is no excuse for this illegal violence, that the Protestants, in the day of their power, had acted worse, and excluded the Catholics altogether. This is perfectly true ; but to remedy one unjust act, by another precisely similar, is, in effect, to give a sanction to the former.

The expatriated Protestants, who did not enter into the service of Holland, became pensioners on the bounty of the English people, who soon became tired of supporting them, especially as their charity was abused by many idle knaves, who claimed support by false tales of persecution. The exiles appealed to the press ; and it is mortifying to compare their humble and querulous tone, with the proud and stern remonstrances of their fathers the " Levellers." To counteract the effect of these statements, Tyrconnel published anonymously a " Vindication of the Irish Government," which is really a well-written, and not very partial statement. It is true, that, at the close, he takes an opportunity of paying himself some very high compliments, which were not very well-merited ; but he effectually vindicates himself from the charges of tyranny and oppression.

The long expected contest on the Act of Settlement came at length, and brought to the Protestants as much dismay as if it had never been anticipated. An Irish Parliament was assembled, in which, from the late changes made in corporations, the ruling party had an overwhelming majority. Heads of a

bill, were framed for “ indemnifying those Catholics who had been declared innocent by the court of claims, and providing that a new commission should issue for the hearing of such claims as had not been hitherto heard, for want of time or other cause, without fault of the parties.” This was certainly nothing more than what strict justice demanded ; but strict justice, when applied to remedy monstrous wrongs, is often perilous. In the present instance it would have caused two-thirds of the lands of Ireland to have changed masters. The Irish appointed Rice as their agent to manage their cause before the English privy council ; but, by the fatality which seems to have reigned over all their proceedings, they neutralized the efforts of this able and upright man, by permitting Nugent to become his associate. The English council had overcome its dread of Popery ; but the horror of Irishmen still reigned in their bosoms. They only wanted a pretext to reject the bill, and such they found in the stupid insolence of Nugent. The arguments of Chief Baron Rice were heard with all the attention which his abilities, his station, and his high character demanded. He left the council in a predicament not very uncommon. They had predetermined a contrary conclusion, but were unable to resist his premises. Nugent’s folly relieved them from their embarrassment, and the bill was rejected. The populace, excited by the Cromwellians and their friends, probably precipitated this decision. The Irish deputies were hooted whenever they appeared in the streets. Potatoes on the top of poles were carried before them, amidst loud exclamations of “ Room for the Irish ambassadors ! ” and this excitement was so great and general, that the King,

though disposed to support their cause, was deterred from making any manifestation in their favour. *

Hitherto James had been supported in all his arbitrary acts by the powerful party, then named the High-church, and subsequently called the Tories. The murder of Sidney, the expulsion of Locke, even the savage cruelties of Jefferies had met with more than their tacit approbation. They went so far as to disturb the dying moments of the unfortunate Monmouth, by eager solicitations, mingled with threats of divine vengeance, in order to force from him an assent to the slavish doctrine of non-resistance. Unfortunately for himself, James gave credit to these professions of outrageous loyalty ; and found that, when the royal wishes ran counter to the interests or prejudices of these ultra-royalists, they were far more dangerous opponents than those who made resistance a part of their creed. The church, as a political body, clearly misled the King. According to the principles it inculcated, resistance to Nero or Domitian would have been just as wicked as rebellion against a Trajan or Antonine. The University of Oxford, in solemn convocation, denounced as "heretical and blasphemous," † every principle

* Sunderland, in his Apology, claims the merit of having disappointed the Irish, and asserts that he refused a bribe of forty thousand pounds which had been offered to purchase his support. Nobody acquainted with Sunderland's character can credit his narrative. If he refused the money, it must have been because a larger sum was offered on the other side ; though it is much more probable that he would have taken the money from both, and kept his promise to neither.

† The House of Lords, in the reign of Queen Anne, ordered this profession of faith to be burned by the common hangman, and thereby gave it a notoriety which it little merited. In truth, it is a production so inconceivably absurd, that it must have done injury to the cause it was destined to serve.

on which any government short of despotism could be established. We cannot, therefore, accuse James of absolute folly, in affording these learned doctors and prelates an opportunity of practising their own precepts, though a monarch of more discernment might have foreseen, that such extravagant doctrines could only be maintained when they coincided with the personal interest of their supporters. The attempt of James to disturb the peaceful repose of the Universities in England and Ireland, was his most fatal error. The account of the attack on the former has been often told ; our business is with the latter, which has not been honoured with an equal share of the public attention.

The first step taken by James in his war on the University of Dublin, proved that he gave that learned body more credit for common sense than it merited. He nominated a Roman Catholic to be professor of the Irish language, and was astounded to hear that no such professorship existed in that venerable institution. Doctor Leland rates James very severely for having committed such a blunder ; but, truly, the blunder belongs not to him alone. He could scarcely have credited the existence of such a practical jest, as an institution whose professed design was to instruct the Irish in the doctrines of the reformed religion, which yet left the teachers wholly ignorant of the language of those whom they had to instruct. Compared with this, the folly of Goldsmith's attempting to teach English in Holland, without having first learned Dutch, sinks into insignificance.

The heads of the College were justly alarmed by these proceedings ; they determined to convert their plate into ready money, to save it from being seized

by the government. Tyrconnel, informed of the transaction, declared, that the provost and fellows had no right to dispose of public property. He ordered the purchaser to be prosecuted as a receiver of stolen goods, and the plate to be deposited in the King's stores. Nagle was disgusted with this violence, and successfully exerted himself to procure the restitution of the plate to the College; which was granted, on an understanding that it should not be sold. The terror occasioned by this proceeding had not subsided, when a letter was received from the King, ordering that a person named Doyle should be admitted to a fellowship, without taking any other than the ordinary oath of a fellow. In this instance, again, the College was saved by the ignorance of the patrons. The oath of a fellow embodies in it the oath of supremacy, which Doyle refused to take. As the King's letter was peremptory, nothing could be done until a second mandate was procured; and before that could be procured, Doyle's incapacity became so notorious, that his patrons resigned the contest.

The birth of a Prince of Wales seemed to promise permanency and security to the Stuart dynasty, but in reality precipitated its downfall. The Prince of Orange had remained quiet while there was a chance of his succession to the throne by the ordinary course of nature; but, when an heir possessing a superior claim appeared, he saw his fairest prospects blighted, and his proudest hopes destroyed. The Whigs, with whom remained the last relics of public spirit in England, saw that their expectations of a change of system must be frustrated, if the young prince were to ascend the throne of his father; and, with more cunning than honesty, asserted that the

infant was supposititious. In no case was the truth of the aphorism, "Men easily credit what they wish to believe," better exemplified than in the present instance. A story monstrously absurd and inconsistent with possibility and with itself, was told of a child being brought into the Queen's bed in a warming-pan, and presented by her to the court as the royal offspring! It is very disgraceful to the memory of Bishop Burnett that he sanctioned this calumny, and supported it by the weight of his authority, though he must have been fully convinced of its falsehood; nor can political expediency excuse the Prince of Orange for joining in the stigma affixed to this unfortunate child. In Ireland, the exultation of the Catholics was boundless; nor was it checked by any feelings of doubt, for the tale of the warming-pan had not yet crossed the Channel. But the Irish Protestants, and the remains of the old puritanical factions in England and Scotland, had long before entered into secret and close correspondence with William. The Whig aristocracy, unbroken by persecution, and undismayed by power, wanted but an opportunity to renew their struggle for freedom. The remembrance of the fatal termination of Monmouth's insurrection made them cautious; and they felt convinced, that without the aid of the old cavaliers, who, about this time, began to be called Tories, and the support of the church, that their chances of success would be very problematical. The junction of the Whigs and Tories was not easy to effect. They detested each other's principles, and extended their animosity to persons; but the union was at length effected, by the joint hatred of the principles of toleration entertained by both. Crimes, more than sufficient to have justified his expulsion from the throne, James had

committed in abundance ; but these were readily forgiven by the advocates of intolerance and arbitrary power. He was at length unfortunate enough to be guilty of an act of justice and generosity ; and this, almost the only instance of public virtue in the whole course of his political existence, precipitated his ruin. James published a declaration of indulgence to all religious sects. He conscientiously believed, that his own was the only true religion ; and that it would certainly prevail, if it received fair play. The errors, if they deserve no harsher name, in this proceeding were, that the King assumed a power of suspending penal laws without the consent of Parliament, and that he ordered this illegal document to be read in the churches. The matter of the declaration was just and laudable ;—the manner arbitrary and ungracious. Indeed, it seems to have been ever a characteristic of the Stuarts, that their very best actions were neutralized by some unfortunate circumstances arising from their despotic dispositions. The dread of toleration proved more powerful than party-spirit. Whigs and Tories united for the maintenance of persecution ; and the Prince of Orange was invited into England by nearly all the leading men of the nation.

The revolution of 1688 is generally and justly considered the brightest epoch of British history ; but though the result was glorious, there are few of the circumstances by which it was attended, and still fewer of the actors in it, that do not merit the severest reprobation. After the birth of the Prince of Wales, prayers were offered up for him in the English chapel at the Hague for some months ; but were discontinued when William determined to dispute his birth. The King, justly offended at an omis-

sion whose design was so glaring, wrote to his daughter Mary, a princess celebrated for her piety, in a tone of indignant remonstrance. The princess, on this occasion, forgot both her piety and duty ;—she replied, with mean and disgraceful equivocation, “that the prayers had never been *properly* discontinued, but only sometimes forgotten.” The great leaders of the English nobility, assembled at the house of the Earl of Shrewsbury, agreed upon sending a requisition to the Prince of Orange, to come over at the head of an army, and pointed out the dangers that would result from delay. These intrigues were discovered by Louis, who sent to warn James of his danger ; but the infatuated monarch believed so firmly in the influence of that “majesty that doth hedge a King,” and relied so confidently on the affection and obedience of his daughter, that he rejected these warnings with something like indignation. At length, the publication of the Prince’s declaration aroused the infatuated monarch from his lethargy, and changed his absurd confidence into still more absurd despair. William landed at Torbay on the 5th of November, the anniversary of Gunpowder Treason—a coincidence which was of no small advantage. At first, his prospects of success were doubtful, and he began to speak of returning ; but the utter incapacity of James became so manifest, that the courtiers saw he was lost, and at once abandoned his cause. Every chance of success was resigned by the wretched monarch without a struggle. There was not a moment, from his first hearing of the invasion to his fatal flight into France, when his affairs might not have been retrieved by the slightest display of spirit and activity ; but, from the very beginning he sunk

into utter hopelessness. Those who were around him read the impress of destiny on his forehead, and hastened, by desertion, to secure their own safety.

James was a weak, rather than a bad man. His errors arose from his incapacity and defective education. He was utterly unfit for a throne, but might have been honoured in a cloister. His cold and selfish disposition prevented him from ever possessing a friend : his heartless severities had procured him many enemies. Notwithstanding, however, his contemptible character, one can scarcely refrain from dropping a tear of sympathy over the forlorn and deserted condition in which he soon found himself ; while the heartless ingratitude shown by those who owed their all to the royal favour, excites at once our contempt and indignation. Churchill, whom he had raised from the office of page to a peerage, Lord Cornbury, the son of the Earl of Clarendon, and nephew of the Queen ; even his favourite daughter Anne, with her husband Prince George of Denmark, joined in the general defection ; and the wretched monarch, in the extremity of his misery, exclaimed, " God help me ! even my own children have deserted me ! "

What were the real intentions of William when he landed in England, we cannot easily discover. Certainly his principal supporters had no intention of placing him on the throne of his father-in-law ; and he could scarcely himself have entertained a hope of such a consummation. But, when circumstances had placed the sceptre almost within his grasp, he hasted to secure it by means more honourable to his character as a politician, than as a man of honour or integrity. The mixture of insi-

dious craft and cruel violence by which James was driven into exile, can neither be excused nor defended, and must ever remain a deep and dark stain on the character of William III.

The Revolution was the work of the English aristocracy. The great body of the people had little or no share in producing it, and gained scarcely any advantages by the event. But, notwithstanding these drawbacks, Englishmen are justly proud of the Revolution. It freed them from the incubus of a race of sovereigns equally degraded and mischievous. It afforded a bright example to other nations suffering under the pressure of tyranny. It secured the liberties of Europe, then threatened with the iron yoke of France ; and it permanently established the principles of Protestantism, which have, though late, attained their full consummation in the triumph of civil and religious freedom.

By the flight of the King, the English Tories found themselves placed in a position on which they had never calculated. They were completely at the mercy of the Whigs, and forced to act on principles which they had frequently reprobated, and even now viewed with suspicion, if not detestation. William called a new parliament, and, in the excited state of the nation, the Whigs obtained a decided majority in the Lower House ; but there was reason to believe that the Lords were not equally well-disposed to the great change which was about to be made. The resolution of the Commons, declaring the throne vacant, was vigorously resisted in the Upper House, and was finally carried only by a majority of two voices. The transfer of the crown to William was still more vigorously resisted. Some were anxious for a regency ; others resolved to elect Mary

queen in her own right ; but the Prince of Orange declared, that if either of these plans were adopted, he woald return to Holland. This declaration produced the desired effect. After a long and violent debate, it was finally carried by the same majority of two, that William and Mary should be declared joint sovereigns of England ; and, on the same evening, they were proclaimed in London and Westminster.

CHAPTER IX.

The War of the Revolution.

A. D. 1689.—THE progress of the English Revolution was watched in Ireland with the most intense anxiety. The Protestants and Catholics alike felt that their properties, and perhaps their lives, were about to be periled once again in the doubtful hazard of war ; and both seemed depressed by that dejection which men naturally feel at the approach of some indefinite danger, over whose direction they have no control. Tyrconnel displayed more energy and prudence at this crisis than his unhappy master. He amused the Protestants, by pretending a wish to negotiate with the Prince of Orange, and at the same time took every means to increase the strength of the Catholic army. On the first rumour of the invasion, he had sent some of the best Irish regiments to join the Royal armies in England and Scotland, an error which he now bitterly lamented. The imbecility of James rendered the English army worse than useless ; and the victories gained by the Scottish royalists under the gallant Dundee, were worthless after the death of that commander at Killicrankie. The new levies made by Tyrconnel filled the Protestants with just alarm, which was insidiously in-

creased by the vile arts which the profligate tools of faction have so frequently practised in Ireland. Rumours were spread of an intended general massacre of the Protestants. Anonymous letters, detailing more plausibly than common fame could, the time when the work of blood was to commence, were sent to several influential persons ; and the most innocent circumstances were tortured, by cunning or terror, into conclusive proofs of this atrocious design. The consternation that prevailed was terrible. Protestants, wherever they could obtain shipping, hasted to fly the country ; and, in Dublin, a crowd of men, women and children, rushed to the shore, imploring the sailors to save them from the daggers of the Irish. Tyrconnel was perfectly astounded at this event ; and at once foresaw the dangerous consequences by which it was likely to be attended. He sent two Lords of the Council to tranquillize the fears of this multitude ; but terror had taken too strong a hold of their diseased imaginations. As many as could possibly stow themselves on board the ships in the harbours hasted away, leaving their less successful friends on the shore in all the agonies of despair.

In the northern counties, where the Scottish colonies abounded, the Protestants showed more courage, and determined to encounter the imaginary danger with arms. Tyrconnel was consequently forced to make instant preparations to check the outbreaking of a civil war. He had some time before withdrawn the garrison from Londonderry ; but, being convinced of the great importance of that town, he directed the Earl of Antrim to march thither with his regiment of Highlanders. Several historians have ridiculed the dread which the sight of these forces

inspired. They seem to have forgotten the cruelties practised in the west of Scotland by “the Highland host,” which Charles and the Episcopal clergy had quartered on the inhabitants, as the most efficient means of conquering their repugnance to white surplices and the English liturgy. Many of the Cameronians had fled from this persecution to the north of Ireland, and spread through the entire province a just abhorrence of the barbarities by which they had been driven from their homes. When the Highlanders approached Derry, the inhabitants, terrified at their strange costume and fierce aspect, fled to the town, and alarmed the inhabitants with the news, that the expected murderers were close at hand. The town-council assembled; but, while they were engaged in deliberation, the soldiers approached, and were at the point of entering the town. Nine young men of the populace, urged by a sudden impulse, drew their swords, seized the keys of the city, raised the draw-bridge, and closed the gates. The example was contagious;—a resolution to take up arms was instantly adopted; the magazine was seized; and a message sent to the troops, that, unless they retired immediately, they would be fired upon by the garrison.

The magistrates and the higher rank of citizens had not shared in this enthusiasm, and were alarmed at its consequences. They sent privately a message to Tyrconnel, through Lord Montjoy, stating, with truth, that this insurrectionary movement had been the work of a tumultuous mob, and declaring their determination to preserve their allegiance to their rightful sovereign. Tyrconnel feigned to believe their excuses; but had the mortification to find, that they would only admit a garrison and governor

of their own choosing, and with this qualified submission he was forced to be content.

The heroic conduct of the men of Derry excited the emulation of other northern Protestants. Enniskillen was secured by a similar act of boldness; and various bodies of partisans formed associations, under the command of Blaney, Rawdon, Skeffington, and some others, for the maintenance of the Protestant religion, and the dependency of Ireland upon England.

Tyrconnel, alarmed by these movements, took some steps to open a negotiation with the Prince of Orange, and found William disposed to grant him the most reasonable terms. The new King was anxious to carry on the war against France—an object infinitely dearer to him than re-establishing the Cromwellian ascendancy in Ireland. He therefore offered the Catholics full security of person and property, an equality of civil rights, and the possession of one-third of the churches of the kingdom. Though William was a zealous Protestant, his zeal was not adulterated by any of the intolerance so common in his day. Liberal and enlightened, he was ever averse to disqualifying laws, and yielded to them a very reluctant assent, when forced upon him by the violence of the English parliament. Those who have been so long accustomed to claim him as their patron, atrociously calumniate his memory. He would have been the first to condemn their principles, and punish their excesses. Equal injustice has been done to his memory, by those Catholics who ascribe to this great man the sanguinary outrages perpetrated by some of his generals. The unfortunate massacre at Glenco is the only circumstance which seems to justify the imputation of cru-

elty on his character; and in that horrid transaction he was certainly duped by base and artful misrepresentations.

William having determined to treat with Tyrconnel, treated the deputies of the northern Protestants with great coldness, and their patron, the Earl of Clarendon, with marked dislike. When he was forced to receive an address from the Irish Protestants, his only answer to their congratulations on his accession and warm professions of attachment, was, "I thank you; I will take care of you."

William was unfortunate in the choice of the agent he selected to conduct his treaty with Tyrconnel. The person appointed was Richard Hamilton, who had led a party of troops from Ireland on the first alarm of William's invasion, and was now in some degree regarded as a prisoner. Hamilton had witnessed the long contest which took place between the Whig and Tory Lords with respect to the Royal election, and, over-estimating at once the influence and the consistency of the latter, believed that nothing but a little exertion was wanting to replace James on his abdicated throne. Instead of persuading Tyrconnel to submit, Hamilton advised him strenuously to maintain Ireland for James, as the other two kingdoms would speedily return to their allegiance.

Tyrconnel was easily persuaded to follow the course to which he had been previously disposed by interest and inclination; yet he still dissembled with the Protestants—told them that he only delayed acknowledging the Prince of Orange, until he received an answer from James—and requested them to send a deputy to the fallen monarch, in order to point out to him the necessity of submission. As Tyrconnel

has left no manuscript behind him, it is impossible to discover whether he was sincere in this proposal, or meditated a piece of unnecessary treachery; the event seems to countenance the latter hypothesis. Mountjoy, as the delegate of the Irish Protestants, and Rice as the ambassador of the Catholics, waited on James at Paris; but they had scarcely entered on a discussion concerning the state of Ireland, when Mountjoy was arrested and sent to the Bastile as a traitor, while Rice opened a negotiation with the French King for sending a large body of troops into Ireland to support the cause of James. In the mean time, Hamilton had forced the northern Protestants from all their strongholds, except Derry and Enniskillen, which were hourly expected to surrender, as James had partisans in both places.

On the 12th of March, James landed at Kinsale with a small body of French forces, which would have been much larger, had he not expressed a wish that his restoration should be owing principally to the exertions of his own subjects. At Cork he was met by Tyrconnel, whom he instantly created a duke; and proceeding thence to Dublin, he entered the capital on the 24th of the same month, attended by the Catholic priests and prelates in the state-habits of their several orders. Loyal addresses poured in from every side; and none were warmer in their professions of attachment than the clergy of the Established Church. James answered their addresses with a duplicity equal to their own, and professed a sincere affection for the principles of the Anglican Episcopal Church. He then issued five proclamations; the first, commanding all Protestants who had left the kingdom to return, under penalty of forfeiture; the second, commanding all

Catholics not belonging to the army, to deposit their arms in the royal stores; the third regulated the supply of provisions to the troops; the fourth raised the value of money; and the fifth summoned a parliament for the ensuing May.

Having thus provided for the civil government, James was anxious to give his subjects a specimen of his military acquirements, and therefore advanced to reduce the disobedient city of Londonderry. Different plans were proposed for this purpose: Some recommended an immediate attempt to storm; others preferred the slow operations of a blockade; but it was finally resolved to try the effects of a long siege, in order that the Irish soldiers might become accustomed to arms and discipline. This resolution had scarcely been taken, when it was nearly rendered unnecessary by the cowardice or treachery of Lundy, the governor. He neglected to check the advance of the Irish army, though several favourable opportunities were afforded. He detained on board the ships two English regiments that had been sent to strengthen the garrison; and while James was yet at a distance, he summoned a council of war to deliberate on terms of capitulation. The council was composed of the officers of the English regiments, and the principal civic authorities. After a brief consultation, it was unanimously resolved that the town was indefensible; that the regiments should return to England; and that the citizens should endeavour to make the best terms they could. The regiments in consequence departed, and deputies were sent to treat with James.

The news of this determination was received with the utmost rage by the populace. They shouted for vengeance on their betrayers; slew one officer, and

dangerously wounded another. In the midst of the confusion, Murray, a brave and popular officer, arrived at the head of a reinforcement. He addressed the soldiers in a brief, but animated speech, which was received with tumultuous applause. While he expostulated with Lundy, a number of the soldiers and citizens, rushing to the walls, put an end to the negotiations, by firing on James and his advanced guard, then approaching the town. All subordination was instantly at an end ; the governor and magistrates were deposed. Lundy concealed himself, to avoid the popular fury ; and a general meeting of the citizens was called, to elect a new civic administration. It has been frequently remarked, that when mobs elect leaders, they seldom make a bad choice ; the truth of this aphorism was fully proved on the present occasion ; the populace having discovered pusillanimity under the soldier's dress, sought, and found, courage and conduct beneath a cassock. They elected as governor, George Walker, a clergyman, and his subsequent behaviour amply justified the wisdom of their choice.

The spirit and gallantry displayed by the men of Derry on this occasion has been often the theme of eulogy ; but no praise can be adequate to their merits. They were in want of every thing. The walls were not very strong ; the guns on the ramparts not sufficient for the defence of all the points ; the town was unprovided with provisions ; the garrison undisciplined, and uninstructed in the art of war. But the last circumstance, though apparently a disadvantage, was one of the chief causes of their success : they were ignorant of the dangers they had to encounter, and their enthusiasm enabled them to achieve triumphs where ordinary soldiers, taught the amount

of hazard by experience, would have quailed in despair. The town contained about thirty thousand people, but the greater part of these were refugees from the surrounding country. The servicable portion of the inhabitants amounted to about seven thousand half-armed men, which were formed into eight regiments, commanded by officers whom they elected themselves ; and thus provided, they dared to defy an army of twenty thousand, headed by some of the best generals in Europe.

Nor are there any acts of cruelty or wanton bloodshed, such as frequently arise from high-wrought enthusiasm, to sully the fair fame of the men of Derry. Unlike their brethren the Enniskilleners, whose track was marked by carnage and desolation, the Derry-men treated their enemies with tenderness and humanity. Lundy and the timid magistrates were permitted to depart uninjured : the few Catholics that were found in the town were deprived of their arms, but were permitted to go elsewhere, or remain, just as they pleased.

The events of the siege possess the interest of romance rather than history, for all the incidents are directly at variance with what might naturally have been expected from the condition of the besieged. As might be supposed, there was no regular government, and yet there was never the slightest appearance of confusion. When a soldier became exhausted from fatigue on the bastion, he retired to rest without waiting for permission, and his place was instantly supplied by another, who was anxious to manifest his zeal. There was no flinching—no reluctance to endure toil and fatigue—no wish to avoid a post of danger. When an opportunity offered parties, self-formed, issued out and attacked the hos-

tile lines. These sallies were sometimes defeated, but the parties not unfrequently returned laden with small supplies of provision and plunder. Eighteen clergymen of the Established church, and seven Dissenting ministers, cheerfully shared in all the toils of the siege, and, in their turns, collected the people every day in the cathedral, animating them to perseverance by that fervid eloquence which the circumstances of their situation naturally inspired. Contests about disputed points of doctrine were of rare occurrence, and when they arose, were checked by the influence of the leaders. The zeal of all was directed to one common end, the preservation of the town from the great object of their hatred—Popish dominion.

James and his generals were astounded at conduct that set all ordinary rules of calculation at defiance. The town was battered for eleven days. The garrison threw the gates open, and desired the besiegers not to take the trouble of making a breach, when they might march through the open portals if they dared. The baffled monarch, irritated at the disappointment, bitterly reproached the Irish soldiers for allowing themselves to be foiled; and, intrusting the conduct of the siege to the French general Rosen, returned to Dublin.

The siege had already lasted more than two months, and the gallant spirit of the garrison was unabated. But they had now to encounter disease and famine, two more formidable enemies than the besiegers. Their stock of provisions had been long exhausted, and they had recourse to the most loathsome and revolting substitutes for food. The heats of a summer, more than ordinarily fierce, generated a pestilence, which was aggravated by hunger and confinement.

Yet, in language which they were fond of borrowing, “there was no complaining heard in their streets.”

The parent wept not over the child struck down by the plague, or withered by the famine that fell before his eyes; the husband returned from the walls to his famishing wife, and heard exhortations to perseverance, uttered in fainting accents; the children shared in the enthusiasm that prevented the common wants of nature from being felt, and submitted to privations without a murmur; the cathedral was crowded, every day, by all who could crawl within the hallowed precincts; and the spiritual excitement supplied by the preachers, made misery unfelt, and want unheeded. When their calamities had reached this height, they suddenly discovered a fleet of thirty sail advancing up the beautiful waters of Lough Foyle with supplies for their relief; but at the moment when their expectations were most excited, they beheld, with equal surprise and consternation, the fleet suddenly change its course, and retire. Kirke, the commander of the expedition, was a monster of inhumanity, whose cruel severities against the followers of the unhappy Monmouth have been already recorded. It reflects indelible disgrace on William’s character, that he employed and trusted this miscreant, and that he allowed his treacherous desertion of his former master to atone for the barbarities he had perpetrated in his service. When Kirke saw the Irish army preparing batteries to contest his passage, he became terrified, and sailed away, leaving the town apparently exposed to inevitable destruction. With great difficulty, and after repeated disappointments, the citizens succeeded in opening a communication with Kirke, and received a reply that was nothing better than cruel irony. He informed

them, that he had sailed round to Lough Swilly, in order to open a communication with the Enniskilleners, and thus effect a diversion in their favour; and recommended them "to husband their provisions most carefully!"

Hamilton, one of the Irish leaders, compassionated the miseries, and respected the valour, of the men of Derry. He addressed them in the most affectionate terms, beseeching them to take pity upon themselves, and have compassion on their own distress. But their undaunted cry was still, "No surrender!" They replied, that they would not follow his example in treachery. Rosen declared, that if the town was not surrendered before the first day of July, all the Protestants in the neighbouring country should be driven beneath the walls, there to perish, unless the garrison accepted his terms. All the Irish generals, except Lord Galway, strenuously protested against the execution of this barbarous threat; and the soldiers loudly expressed their disinclination to such cruelties. Rosen disregarded their remonstrances. On the following morning, the garrison beheld a confused assembly approaching the walls, on which they fired, happily without doing any mischief. With unutterable horror, they soon discovered that it was a helpless crowd of men, women and children, driven from their homes to perish before their eyes, and urged forward by soldiers, who performed their duty with sighs and tears. But the hearts even of these sufferers fainted not; the dying collected their last breath, to exhort the garrison to persevere in their heroic resistance; the women and children besought the soldiers on the walls to disregard their sufferings, and remain true to their cause; all conjured their brethren to revenge their wrongs, by

baffling an enemy that was capable of such barbarities. The irritated garrison determined, as a retaliation, to hang up all the prisoners they had taken in their several sallies ; and, for this purpose, erected a gallows in sight of the enemy's camp. Among these were several very popular leaders ; and the Irish army was on the point of mutiny, while Rosen still continued unmoved ; but Hamilton and the other leaders had, in the mean time, communicated the circumstance to James, and obtained from him a positive order that the multitude should be allowed to return uninjured to their own homes.* The garrison took advantage of this opportunity to send out some of the most helpless citizens, receiving a reinforcement of the young and active in their stead ; so that Rosen's cruelty eventually tended to their advantage.

Kirke was at length stimulated to make some exertions for the relief of Derry, on learning the general indignation that his conduct had caused in England, and that the garrison was about to yield at last to the enemy. He therefore despatched two victuallers, under the convoy of the Dartmouth frigate, to force the passage, which he might easily have effected seven weeks before. No pen can describe the excitement which prevailed in the town and the camp, when the approach of these vessels was discovered. The citizens rushed to the walls ; the Irish manned their batteries. As the ships approached the boom which the besiegers had placed across the

* Tradition asserts, that Rosen would have disobeyed this order, but for the fear of mutiny occasioned by the threat of hanging the prisoners ; and that Hamilton was so pleased with the conduct of the governor on the occasion, that he sent him a present of provisions, and a letter commending his spirit.

entrance, the frigate shortened sail, and the transports proceeded alone. Heedless of the fire of the batteries, the larger of the victuallers steered with full force against the boom, and broke it, but was driven ashore by the violence of the shock. It was a moment of intense anxiety. The besiegers rushed to seize the vessel; but before they could reach her, she was forced off by the rebound of her own guns, and floated majestically into the harbour.

Thus ended the siege of Derry. More than half of the garrison perished by famine or disease; and the survivors were so worn by suffering, that they could scarcely be recognised. The Irish army broke up the siege and retired. The men of Derry had the courage, or rather the rashness, to sally out and attack their rear, for which they were punished by a severe defeat.

During the siege of Derry, the royal army had been greatly embarrassed by the Enniskilleners, who frequently surprised their outposts, and intercepted their convoys. Lord Galway being sent to reduce them, laid siege to their frontier garrison, Crom Castle on Lough Erne. As he was prevented by the difficulties of the ground from bringing up his artillery, he was forced to have recourse to stratagem. He procured two mock cannons made of tin, which he ostentatiously placed in a battering condition, and then summoned the garrison to surrender. They not only sent him a spirited defiance, but, sallying out, drove the besiegers from their trenches, and routed them with great slaughter. The tin cannon were exhibited as trophies of their success, and long continued to furnish the Enniskilleners with a theme of boastful merriment. Kirke supplied these insurgents with arms; and their numbers soon becoming

formidable, James determined to overwhelm them with three armies. The Duke of Berwick marched against them from the north; Sarsfield advanced from Connaught with troops lately levied; and General Macarthy, who had completely subdued Ineckquin in Munster, now hastened to overwhelm the Enniskilleners. Ignorance of their danger saved them from ruin; they knew only of the motions of the Connaught army, and against this body they marched with great intrepidity. They surprised Sarsfield's camp, threw his soldiers into confusion, and routed them with great slaughter. They had not the same success against the Duke of Berwick, who cut several of their companies to pieces; but this disaster was more than compensated by their decisive victory over Macarthy at Newtown-Butler.

Wolsley, the commander of the Enniskilleners, had not more than two thousand men. Macarthy's numbers amounted to six thousand. Bravery alone would not have atoned for this disparity of force; but a fortunate accident gave a victory to the weaker army. Wolsley commenced the engagement by a furious attack on Macarthy's right wing, which he threw into confusion. The Irish general commanded some battalions from the centre to advance to its support. The officer, who conveyed the order, gave the word "Wheel to the right," which was mistaken for "Wheel to the right about." The battalions, consequently, began to march from the field; and the troops in the rear, seeing the symptoms of retreat, broke and fled. The Irish general was unable to remedy this fatal error; the Enniskilleners pursued their advantage, and completed the rout. Two thousand of the Irish were slain, and about six hundred forced into Lough Erne, where they perished. The

Enniskilleners sullied their victory by needless barbarity. They refused quarter to all but officers, and murdered their wounded captives in cold blood. Macarthy was brought as a prisoner into Enniskillen, bitterly lamenting the chance by which his life had been preserved.

The successes of the Protestants of the north, however brilliant, could have produced but little effect in the final decision of the contest, had James acted with spirit or energy. Dundee wrote to him a pressing letter, requesting him to delay no longer in a country, nine-tenths of which were already in his possession ; but to come over and show himself in Scotland, where an army would start up at the very moment of his landing. There is little doubt that James would have been restored, if he had adopted this prudent counsel ; but he knew not the value of the Highlanders as soldiers, and hesitated until his cause was ruined by the fall of Dundee. James was at this time, and indeed during the whole period of his residence in Ireland, guided entirely by the advice of the French ambassador, who regarded rather the interests of his own master, than the restoration of the dethroned monarch. He detained James in Ireland, because he deemed that his presence there was an advantage to France.

CHAPTER X.

King James's Irish Parliament.

THE military career of James had not tended to raise his character for courage or conduct ; and we shall find as little reason to admire him as a legislator. The Parliament met on the 7th of May 1689, at the Inns of Court in Dublin. The number of the Catholic peers was increased by the reversal of several attainders, and by some new creations, which, it is but just to add, were well merited. Several Protestant lords and bishops attended. They frequently opposed the measures of the Court with great spirit ; but no attempt was ever made to check their freedom. No Catholic prelates were summoned. The members of the Lower House were chiefly Catholics. The University, and a few other places, returned Protestants ; but they were lost in the great majority which the late change in the corporations by Tyrconnel enabled the Court to secure. The Parliament was opened by the King in person, wearing his royal robes, and with the crown on his head. The King's speech was temperate and judicious. He commended the zeal and loyalty of his Irish subjects ; declared his abhorrence of violating the rights of conscience, or those of property ; pro-

mised equal protection to Catholics and Protestants; and stated his readiness to assent to any laws which would benefit the nation. He particularly recommended to the notice of the Parliament the distressed state of trade and manufactures, and the condition of those who had been unjustly deprived of their property by the Act of Settlement. Nagle, the Speaker of the House of Commons, and FITTON, the Lord Chancellor, made the proper commentary on the speech; and affectionate addresses were unanimously voted in reply by both Houses.

With the single exception of the Act of Attainder, never sat a Parliament in Ireland whose laws were better calculated to serve the country, and whose exertions were more uniformly directed by a spirit of equity and sound policy. But the Act of Attainder was a piece of monstrous injustice, almost rivalling the sweeping confiscations of the Cromwellians. By this law, about two thousand Protestant noblemen and gentlemen, known or suspected to be adherents of William, were attainted, and declared to have forfeited all their property, real and personal, unless they surrendered before a certain day. By a clause still more atrocious, the King was deprived of the power of pardoning all who did not establish their innocence before a certain day. As an excuse for this violent measure, the precedent of the forfeitures, made with even greater injustice by the Cromwellians and the English Parliament, has been quoted. But one crime cannot justify another; and though the Irish Parliament did not so flagrantly outrage every principle of equity as their Protestant predecessors, it is to be lamented that they sullied the brightest spot of Irish history by a measure which cannot be defended. It is much more agree-

able to contemplate the wise and beneficent laws by which this single instance of wrong was accompanied. One of the first acts passed by James's Parliament was, "An act for establishing liberty of conscience, and repealing such acts, or clauses in any act of Parliament, as are inconsistent with the same." To this measure the Irish Catholic may appeal, as a full and satisfactory refutation of the charges of bigotry and intolerance; and the Irish Protestant must blush to remember, that William's Protestant Parliament, so far from imitating this noble example of enlightened liberality, took the earliest opportunity of establishing a system of penal laws, compared with which the persecutions of Spanish inquisitors were tenderness and mercy. The second act connected with religion adopted by this Parliament, regulated the payment of tithes. It directed, that all should pay tithes to the pastors of their several communions. No one can say that this measure was unjust; it is only the labourers that are worthy of their hire; and if it be necessary to provide a legal support for the religious instruction of the people, it should be paid to those who are really their instructors.

The establishment of the legislative and judicial independence of Ireland had been always a favourite object of the native Irish, and had been equally the dread and abhorence of the Cromwellians, who looked to the maintenance of English power for the security of their estates. A bill was introduced, prohibiting writs of error and appeal into England, and providing that no act of the English parliament should bind Ireland. It passed through the Lower House with little opposition; but was fiercely attacked by the Protestant Bishop of Meath, when it

was sent up to the Lords. He argued, that it was inconsistent with the oath of supremacy; that it trespassed on the royal prerogative; and, with more reason, that it tended to dissolve the connection between the two countries. The arguments of the worthy prelate did not appear very convincing, even to the Protestant Lords. On a division, he was the only Not-content. A bill for the repeal of Poyning's Law, though strenuously urged by the Parliament, was vehemently opposed by the King, and finally lost. This was not the only instance of disunion between the Irish and their sovereign.* They easily discovered the gross and incurable defects in the character of James—his meanness mingled with pride—his weakness and obstinacy—his presumptuous folly—his incurable love of despotic power. They were justly jealous of the partiality he showed to foreigners and strangers. They were indignant at perceiving that he received their services as matter of right, and rewarded them with coldness and ingratitude. In fact, they would have got rid of him if they could; but they were too generous to desert a sovereign who had thrown himself on their protection, and too loyal to dismiss a King as unceremoniously as the people of England.

The great business of the session was the repeal of the "Act of Settlement." A bill for this purpose was prepared by Baron Rice and Sir Richard Nagle. It was introduced in the Lower House on the 13th of May, and was brought up to the Lords on the 22d of the same month. It was canvassed

* He also rejected a bill which provided Inns of Court for the education of Irish law-students—an object which the Catholics were eager to obtain, because they deemed the religion of their children endangered by a residence in London.

with all the attention which a measure of such importance merited ; and it was the middle of June before it finally passed. The Protestant bishops, and some of the nobility, asked leave to enter their protest against the bill. James replied, that protests came in rebellious times ; but permitted them to record their dissent, which was accordingly done. The protest was signed by the Bishops of Meath, Ossory, Cork and Limerick ; by the proxies of the Archbishop of Armagh and the Bishop of Waterford ; and by four Temporal Peers, Granard, Longford, Rosse and Howth.

The parliament had granted James the enormous subsidy of twenty thousand pounds monthly, which he instantly doubled by royal proclamation. The Irish nobility remonstrated against this violent stretch of the royal prerogative ; but James was not to be dissuaded. He passionately exclaimed—" If I cannot do this, I can do nothing ;" and reminded them of their former protestations of unlimited obedience. But it was easier to impose taxes than to procure payment. Money came in slowly, and James had recourse to a new measure, in which he anticipated the financial policy of Mr Pitt. He erected a bank, and, by his own proper authority, forthwith established a Bank-Restriction Act. He issued metal tokens formed from old cannon, broken bells, and other useless materials, at the nominal value of five pounds sterling for every pound weight of the coin. But James knew not how to support the credit of his metallic notes. The coin was paid into his Exchequer at the nominal value ; but, in the ordinary transactions of business, it passed for little more than its real worth. The King was sorely puzzled by this consequence, which he had not at all antici-

pated. In vain did he promise, that, at a future-time, his metallic notes should be exchanged for sterling coin. The traders could not be persuaded to receive the tokens at the nominal value ; or, rather, they evaded the proclamation, by raising the price of all commodities. The King was forced to have recourse to another expedient. He issued a table of prices, and denounced severe penalties against those who demanded more. Improving in financial policy as he advanced, he determined to become a merchant himself. He bought up the staple articles of the kingdom with his base coin, and, exporting them to France, there sold them for good money. Few were willing to sell their property on such terms ; but there was no resisting a purchaser, who came attended by a troop of dragoons, or a company of musketeers.

The clamour raised against these proceedings by the Protestant writers is exceedingly ridiculous. James's scheme of a national bank was not one whit worse, than the thousand and one schemes of banking which have since appeared. The bank failed, and involved multitudes in misery, and so have many other banks in later times ; but surely it is unreasonable that the Protestants, who used their utmost efforts to break the bank, should complain of a consequence which they themselves laboured so strenuously to produce. The Catholics murmured with more justice ; for, when the battle of the Boyne annihilated "the bank," they lost every thing.

The Protestants complain, that James gave several churches and schools to the Catholic clergy, which of right belonged to themselves. But, in this instance, the conduct of the monarch was not without excuse. The Protestant clergy had not given

themselves the only title to possession, which deserves to be regarded. They had not filled the churches with congregations, nor the schools with scholars.* The Catholics did both, and their claim was consequently more reasonable. The violence with which James treated the University of Dublin is not equally excusable. It was an atrocious instance of bigotry and tyranny. He sent a "mandamus" to the provost and fellows, commanding them to admit a Roman Catholic named Greene to the office of senior fellow. With becoming spirit, the heads of the University flatly refused to obey the arbitrary edict, and pleaded their own cause before Sir Richard Nagle. James would not even wait for a legal decision. He sent a body of soldiers, who, unceremoniously, expelled provost, fellows and scholars, converted the chapel into a magazine, and the college itself into a barrack. By the advice of his confessor, James designed to establish a Jesuit seminary on this foundation ; and, in the mean time, appointed a Catholic priest, named Moore, provost, and Macarthy, another of the same order, librarian. Moore and Macarthy were men of learning and integrity ; they carefully preserved the library, with all its valuable manuscripts and furniture ; and when William's arrival afforded an opportunity, surrendered the entire safe and uninjured to the rightful owners.

The administration of justice during this brief period deserves the highest praise. With the excep-

* Many of the Irish endowed schools were, until very lately, notorious sinecures. Dr Grier, the brother-in-law of the Archbishop of Dublin, for many years received the emoluments of the endowed school of Middleton, though he resided in Dublin, while the untenantable school-house crumbled into ruins.

tion of Nugent and Fitton, the Irish judges would have been an honour to any bench. Keating, a Protestant, was a man of spirit and independence ; he unhesitatingly condemned several of the King's arbitrary measures ; and it is but justice to add, that he did not thereby forfeit the Royal confidence. But the boast of the Irish bench, both for talent and integrity was Chief Baron Rice. The breath of calumny has never uttered an imputation against his impartiality ; and his compassionate tenderness almost degenerated into weakness. After the completion of the revolution he emigrated, but, wearied of a life of dependency, he returned home and recommenced his career as a barrister. He appeared in a stuff gown pleading before that bench which he had so long adorned, and commanding the respect of the most inveterate enemies of his religion and nation. It is gratifying to learn that his honourable labours met their due reward. He amassed a second fortune more considerable than that which had been confiscated. He died in a good old age, bequeathing to his successors extensive estates, the reward of industry and probity, and an honourable name which none of them have disgraced.

The military affairs, after the raising of the siege of Derry, were unaccountably neglected by James and his officers. They knew that William was making active preparations for the invasion of Ireland, and they took no efficient measures of defence. Soldiers marched and countermarched without plan, order, or regularity. They were billeted on the inhabitants of the cities and towns, who vainly remonstrated against the hardship ; but they were neither employed in garrisoning the towns on the coast, nor in subduing the Protestants of the north, who might

have been easily crushed by a vigorous effort. The real cause of this confusion in the military councils, appears to have been the national jealousy between the Irish and French officers, and the unwise partiality of the foolish King for foreigners. There was even a suspicion that James had agreed to place Ireland under the protection of France ; and the Irish, justly indignant, were resolved not to submit to such an insult. It is probable that, had William at this time offered fair and favourable terms to the Catholics, he might have obtained the kingdom by negotiations, and averted the misery of two years of desolating war.

CHAPTER XI.

The Campaigns of Schomberg and William.

THE delay of making any efforts to support the cause of Protestantism in Ireland, exposed William III. to great and unmerited censure. He found that the crown which he had been so eager to obtain, was indeed a crown of thorns, and that those who had been foremost in promoting his elevation, were now as anxious to hasten his downfall. Dundee was in arms in Scotland—the English fleet had suffered a severe defeat in Bantry Bay—the power of the French King threatened the ruin of Holland, which William loved much better than his new dominions—and, finally, the distraction of England prevented the new King from paying that attention to Ireland which its importance required, and which the English people very imperatively demanded. The popular discontent hurried the preparations. With considerable difficulty an army of somewhat more than ten thousand men were assembled, and placed under the command of Duke Schomberg, an officer of great reputation. The materials of which this army was composed, exhibited a strange mixture of nations and languages. There were Danes, Germans, Dutchmen, French refugees, and military adventurers from every European country. The “Thirty-years war,” had filled

Europe with those soldiers of fortune, ready to lend their swords to the service of any cause which promised pay and plunder ; but after the accession of Louis XIV., some appearance of principle was manifested by such adventurers ; regarding his wars, as indeed they in some sort were, a contest between Catholicism and Protestantism for the supremacy in Europe, they no longer showed an utter indifference to principle, but selected a service which, in some measure, accorded with their religious profession. William was justly regarded as the head of the Protestant party in Europe ; the pay given by England and Holland, was higher and more secure than that of other states ; and both these causes supplied William with bodies of hardy veterans, familiar with war from their cradle.

Bravery, however, was the chief, almost the only valuable attribute possessed by these men. They were the outcasts of all society, familiar with every crime, abandoned to every excess. Vices for which language scarcely ventures to find a name, abominations that may not be described, and can scarcely be imagined, were constantly practised by these bands, which the long continental wars had called into existence. The traditions of Irish Protestants and Catholics contain a horrid catalogue of the enormities practised by "this black banditti ;" and these accounts are fully confirmed by the narratives which the cotemporary writers have given of their conduct in other countries.* With these were joined some

* If there was any necessity to add confirmation to these facts, which, however, are sufficiently notorious, it might be found in the Letters of Dr Gorge, Schomberg's secretary and chaplain. Let one extract suffice. "Can we expect," says he, speaking of the English army, "that Sodom will destroy

raw English levies, who found it much easier to imitate the debaucheries, than to practise the discipline, of the foreigners. Indeed, no worse scourge could be sent by an angry Providence, than the army which now proceeded against Ireland.

On the 13th of August 1689, Schomberg's troops effected their landing in Bangor Bay, near Carrickfergus, without encountering any opposition. A favourable opportunity was afforded to the Irish quartered in the neighbourhood of attacking him during the night ; but it was lost, because the leaders had greatly overrated the quantity and quality of the English army. They believed that it amounted to thirty thousand, though it scarcely exceeded one-third of the number ; and they believed that it was totally composed of veterans, though at least one-half consisted of raw levies. It was long before this fatal error was dissipated. Schomberg's first enterprise was the siege of Carrickfergus. The place was vigorously attacked, and as obstinately defended. Macarty More, the governor, did not surrender until his last barrel of powder was expended, and even then obtained honourable conditions. No attempt was made to relieve the town by James or his general. They were at the time busily employed in long discussions on the plan of the campaign, when the slightest exertion of vigour would have terminated it in a few days. It is painful to add, that the terms of the capitulation were flagrantly violated. The inhabitants were stripped and plundered ; the women treated with a licentious cruelty

Babylon ; or that debauchery will extirpate Popery ? Our enemy fights against us with the principle of a mistaken conscience ; we, against the conviction of our own consciences, against them."

which will not admit of description. It is worthy of remark, that in all the civil wars by which Ireland has been devastated, no instance of a single injury offered to a female can be charged against the native Irish, while, in every instance, the conduct of the English soldiers was not only licentious, but brutal. The exertions of Schomberg, who was an honourable and humane man, at length checked these atrocities; but by these exertions he incurred the hatred of his own soldiers.

Soon after the English army had landed, they were joined by the Enniskilleners, and were perfectly astounded by the appearance of the men whose fame had been so loudly trumpeted in England. Every man was armed and equipped after his own fashion, and each man was attended by a mounted servant bearing his baggage. Discipline was as little regarded as uniformity. They rode in a confused body, and only formed a hasty line when preparing to fight. Descended from the Levellers and Covenanters, they preserved all the gloomy fanaticism of their fathers, and believed the slaughtering of Papists an act of religious duty. They were robbers and murderers on principle, for they believed themselves commissioned to remove idolatry from the land. Inferior to the old Levellers in strength and skill, they equalled them in enthusiasm, and surpassed them in courage. They never hesitated to encounter any odds, however unequal; and rejoiced in the prospect of death, while engaged in what they called the service of the Lord. Reeking from the field of battle, they assembled round their preachers, who always accompanied them in their expeditions, and listened with eager delight to their wild effusions, in which the magnificent orientalisms of the Old

Testament were strangely combined with their own gross and vulgar sentiments. They were, like the modern Cossacks, a formidable body of irregular cavalry, and for that very reason an incumbrance to an orderly and disciplined army.

Neither Schomberg, nor any of William's generals, understood the value of these men. William himself despised them most heartily, and subjected them to military execution by the dozen for violating the laws of war. From the moment that they joined the regular army, they performed no exploit worthy of their former fame, simply because they could not learn a new mode of fighting. They were aware of this themselves, and frequently declared with truth, that "they could do no good while acting under orders."

Schomberg advanced along the coast, for the convenience of being supported by the fleet. The country was a complete desert, having been exhausted in the petty warfare between the Enniskilleners and the Irish. It was also intersected by bogs and mountains, whose difficulties soon broke down the strength and spirits of the English troops. At his approach, James's generals were inclined to retreat, but were diverted from this inglorious resolution by Tyrconnel, who promised them an immediate reinforcement of twenty thousand men. When Schomberg had advanced as far as Dundalk, he halted. His men were quite exhausted. The fleet destined to supply him with artillery and provisions had not yet arrived at Carlingford; flying parties of the Irish hung on his flank and rear, cutting off his soldiers from food and forage. Marshal Rosen no sooner perceived that Schomberg had paused, than he pronounced that "he wanted something;" and imme-

dately began to concentrate the Irish forces. Schomberg could not, in his present condition, hazard a battle. He therefore chose what seemed a favourable position for a fortified camp, and secured himself by intrenchments. James soon joined his forces, and led them, with banners displayed, before the enemy's lines. Both armies were anxious to engage, and both were disappointed by their leaders. Schomberg knew his own weakness too well to quit his position, and James would not hazard an attempt to storm a fortified camp. The decision of both was blamed by their followers. The English said that they came to fight like soldiers, not to work like slaves; and they had imbibed from the Enniskilleners a contempt for the enemy. Rosen indignantly said to James, "If your Majesty had ten kingdoms you would lose them." James appears to have relied on the influence of some secret emissaries over the French emigrants in Schomberg's camp, and on the national vanity of the French, who deemed the glories of Louis almost an atonement for his tyrannical persecution. A conspiracy among the French was in fact detected; but before it could produce any effect, the ringleaders were secured and punished.

There is little doubt but that James would have succeeded, had he indulged his soldiers, and ordered an assault. Schomberg's camp was unfortunately pitched in an unwholesome spot, where his army was rapidly wasted by disease. His men would doubtless have made a brave resistance; the foreign veterans were the best troops then in Europe. The dogged resolution of the English infantry has often been proved; but their physical energies were broken; and they must have yielded to troops full of health

and vigour, fighting for their country and their homes. But confinement to the camp was as destructive to Schomberg's gallant army, as the most disastrous defeat could have been. The number of the sick far exceeded that of those who retained their health; there were not enough of spare men to bury their dead; and the putrifying carcasses soon frightfully increased the pestilence. The evil was aggravated by the characteristic obstinacy of the English soldiers; they were in a bad humour with their general; and they exhibited it by neglecting their own comforts. No persuasion could prevail upon them to erect huts and other protections against the inclement weather, or to remove the dead bodies of their comrades for interment. They actually used the carcasses for shade or shelter, and murmured when deprived of such accommodations.

In the quaint words of one of Schomberg's officers, "It would have been as hard to confine the Enniskilleners in a camp, as to keep a regiment of March hares in a circle of a yard diameter." They were allowed, during this time, to pursue their own mode of warfare, which they did with some success; but their triumphs were more than compensated by the loss of Jamestown and Sligo, which Sarsfield, who commanded the Irish light troops, captured by storm. The arrival of some fresh regiments enabled Schomberg to remove from the camp which had proved so fatal to his army; but even the retreat was attended with shocking calamities. The motion of the waggons over rough and rugged roads, proved fatal to a great part of the sick; they were thrown out, as they expired, by the road-side. The regiments, already weakened, suffered severely from the fatigues of the march, and the inclemency of the

weather. Numbers quitted the ranks, and quietly resigned themselves to death, as the only relief of their miseries. The rear-guard of Schomberg's army literally marched through a lane formed by the piled bodies of their fallen comrades. Thus ended a campaign, during which it has been said, with some truth, that "Schomberg did nothing, and James helped him."

Nothing could exceed the disappointment of the English nation, when they learned the impotent conclusion of Schomberg's campaign. The Cromwellian refugees had represented the Irish nation as a set of despicable cowards, who might be subdued with little trouble or hazard ; and the English had greedily adopted an opinion so flattering to their prejudices. Great, then, was their astonishment, to find a well-appointed army, and one of the best generals in Europe, baffled by those very Irish, though headed by the imbecile James. The House of Commons resolved to inquire into the causes of this disappointment, and soon involved themselves in a serious quarrel with the King, whose consequences might have been fatal. The Whigs and William hated each other most cordially, almost from the very beginning of their connexion ; but they were necessary to each other, and consequently forced to assume the semblance of reconciliation. The disputes respecting Ireland were so warm, that William is said, on good authority, to have meditated resigning the crown, and returning to Holland, but was dissuaded by some of the Whig leaders, who promised to bring the Commons into a better temper. At the same time, to satisfy the people, William professed his intention of taking the command of the Irish army in person.

A. D. 1690.—During the winter, several slight engagements took place between the Irish light troops and the Enniskilleners, generally to the advantage of the latter. The French King sent over five thousand men, under the command of the Duke de Lauzun ; but neutralized this benefit, by requiring as many Irish soldiers in exchange. This was a serious injury to the Royal cause ; for the exported troops were the flower of the Irish army, and commanded by Macarthy More, one of James's best officers. The French soldiers, on the contrary, were raw and undisciplined ; their leader better fitted for the levee or the drawing-room, than the field of battle. The campaign opened ominously for James. A single frigate, the last remnant of his once-powerful fleet, was captured by Sir Cloutesley Shovel, in the monarch's presence ; for, on hearing the firing, James, believing that the English fleet had returned to their allegiance, hastened to the shore to receive their submission, but only arrived in time to witness the loss of his last vessel.

The loss of Charlemont was a much more serious injury to the Irish cause ; the more especially, as it gave full proof of the treachery or incapacity that reigned in the councils of James. Though a frontier garrison, and of great importance, it was not supplied with provisions until after the siege had actually commenced. Teague O'Regan, the governor of Charlemont, was a brave old veteran, in the seventieth year of his age. He was a quaint humorist ; his figure seemed moulded by nature in one of her most whimsical moods ; and it was his pleasure to render it still more ridiculous by his dress. He was small and hunch-backed ; his features sharp ; his gait irregular. He wore a grizzly wig, of formidable

dimensions ; a white hat, with an immense feather, a scarlet coat, huge jack-boots, and a cloak that might have served a giant. He was fond of riding ; and the horse which he selected was scarcely to be matched for viciousness and deformity. Schomberg, who was himself a little eccentric, took an amazing fancy to the character of Teague O'Regan, and offered the garrison the most favourable conditions. O'Regan's answer was characteristic ; he simply replied, " That old knave Schomberg shall not have this castle ! " A detachment of five hundred men brought O'Regan a very insufficient supply of ammunition and provision, which he feared that they would soon consume, if admitted into the garrison ; and he therefore directed them to force their way back through the English lines. This they attempted, but were repulsed with loss ; and as O'Regan would not admit them into the castle, they were forced to take up their quarters on the counterscarp. The consequences may easily be foreseen ; provisions were soon exhausted ; and the garrison compelled to capitulate. Schomberg granted the best terms, and, when he met the governor, invited him to dinner. During the repast, an Irish priest of the town entered into an argument with an English dragoon on the difficult subject of " transubstantiation." From words, the disputants soon came to blows ; and a messenger was sent to inform O'Regan of the breach of the capitulation, by the ill-treatment of the priest. O'Regan heard the story with great gravity, and coolly replied, " Served him right ; what the deuce business had a priest to begin an argument with a dragoon ? " —a jest which had the happy effect of restoring all parties to good humour.

We must now direct our attention to more seri-

ous subjects. William, previous to his arrival, sent over strong reinforcements to the army in Ulster; and as he had not yet learned the value of the English infantry, the new troops consisted chiefly of those foreign military adventurers whom we have already described. On the 6th of June, his grand park of artillery, with all the ordnance stores, was landed at Carrickfergus, and thither the King came himself on the 14th, accompanied by Prince George of Denmark, the Duke of Ormond, and several other noblemen of distinction. The clergymen of the Established church waited on William with an address, differing very little from that which they had already presented to James, but which was probably more sincere. The connection between the church and state led to many inconsistencies, which, in that day, were but slightly regarded. James was regularly prayed for in all the churches within his lines; when William advanced, his name was substituted; and when he retreated, his rival again became "our most religious and gracious King." With equal prudence and generosity, William distributed a large sum of money among the northern Dissenting teachers: they had been the most devoted of his adherents, and had shared in all the warlike operations of the Ulster army. Persuaded that promptitude would be of the most essential service, William ordered his army to advance southwards, in order to force an engagement as soon as possible; and, when some of his officers advised greater caution, he replied, "I came not into Ireland to let the grass grow under my feet." His army amounted to thirty-six thousand chosen men, of which the greater part were veterans whose valour had been proved in several battle-fields on the Continent.

James, on hearing of William's landing, hasted to join his army, which had retreated from Dundalk to Drogheda, and now occupied a position on the southern bank of the river Boyne. The French and Irish officers vainly laboured to dissuade James from fighting. They represented to him that his numbers were inferior to those of the enemy ; that the greater part of his forces were raw levies ; that the promised succours from France might be speedily expected ; and that, in the meantime, the English army would be unable to resist the effects of the climate, and the harassing guerilla warfare that might be maintained by the peasantry and the light troops. They showed him how easily he could maintain a defensive war behind the Shannon, until France would strengthen him, and time weaken his rival. There is no obstinacy so great as that of a coward suddenly seized with a braggart fit. James, whose poltroonery—for his conduct deserves no milder term—had caused the loss of the fairest opportunities of success, astonished all his officers by a sudden assumption of courage that bordered on rashness. He insisted on fighting, with so much animation, that his soldiers were persuaded that he intended to take a desperate part in the engagement ; but at the same time, with ominous precaution, he despatched Sir Patrick Trant to Waterford, in order to secure a ship for his escape in case of misfortune. It was evidently William's interest to bring the affair to an immediate decision. He knew the slippery ground on which he stood with the factions in England ; he was acquainted with the secret intrigues of France for his destruction ; and was convinced, that every day that the Irish war was protracted added to his danger.

On the last day of June, at the first dawn of morning, William's army advanced towards the river. Having chosen a spot for his camp, the English King proceeded to take a survey of the enemy's lines from a hill, which commanded an extensive prospect. William found the Irish posted in a very favourable position. On the right was the town of Drogheda; their left was protected by a deep morass; in their front flowed the river Boyne scarcely fordable; and in front of their line were some breastworks and hedges, convenient to be lined with infantry. In their rear at some distance lay the church and village of Donore, and about three miles further was the pass of Duleek, on which they depended for a retreat.

Anxious to gain a nearer view of the enemy, William proceeded with some officers towards the ford opposite the village of Old Bridge, and, having spent some time in reconnoitring, set down to refresh himself on some rising ground. His motions had not escaped the attention of the Irish army. Berwick, Tyrconnel, Sarsfield, and some other leaders, rode on the opposite bank to observe the English army, and soon discovered William's situation. Suddenly a squadron of horse appeared in a ploughed field opposite the place where he was sitting. They concealed two field-pieces in their centre, which were soon placed in position. At the moment William mounted his horse, a shot from one of these guns killed a man and two horses nearly on a line with him, and a second ball grazed his right shoulder, tearing the coat and a piece of the flesh. A report was spread through both armies that the English King was slain; the rumour was spread as far as Paris; and the rejoicing which Louis meanly order-

ed on the occasion, proved how highly he estimated the character of his opponent.

To prevent the evil consequences of this unfounded rumour, William, as soon as the wound had been dressed, rode through the ranks of his army, and showed himself to his soldiers. In the evening, he called a council of war, not to deliberate, but to receive his instructions. Schomberg remonstrated against the resolution to engage, and pointed out the hazard of crossing a river in the teeth of an intrenched enemy ; but circumstances scarcely left William an option. He rejected the old general's advice, and Schomberg retired to his tent in disgust. When he received the order of battle in the evening, he indignantly exclaimed, that it was the first which had been ever sent him.

The debates in the councils of James were longer and more discordant. The assumed courage of the wretched monarch had totally disappeared on the approach of danger ; and he was now as eager to avoid, as he had been before to court, a battle. The French generals, perceiving the great superiority of William in numbers and artillery, also wished, if possible, to decline an engagement. The Irish declared themselves ready to fight. Under these circumstances, a kind of half measure was adopted. It was determined to hazard a partial battle, and to retreat without risking a general engagement. To this strange determination, James, in all probability, owed the loss of his kingdom.

CHAPTER XII.

The Battle of the Boyne—The Sieges of Athlone and Limerick.

ON the memorable morning of the first of July 1690, William's army advanced to the banks of the Boyne in three columns. The cavalry of the right wing was commanded by Count Schomberg, son of the Duke; the infantry by General Douglas. The centre, under the command of Duke Schomberg, marched towards some fords that had been discovered near the bridge of Slane. The left, headed by the King in person, proceeded to a ford nearer to the town of Drogheda. On the side of the Irish, the left and centre were composed of native troops. The right wing, which took no share in the engagement, consisted of the French auxiliaries. Count Schomberg and Douglas crossed the river without much opposition. They suffered, however, severely from the heavy fire of the Irish skirmishers, who were posted behind the hedges which intersected the plain. When these obstacles were overcome, they had to struggle through the morass, which protected the left flank of the Irish—an object not to be accomplished without great loss and difficulty, but which was finally attained by persevering gallantry.

Astonished at this intrepidity, the Irish gave ground and retreated towards Duleek, hotly pursued by Count Schomberg. Reinforcements, however, soon came up from the centre, and Schomberg was forced to retire in his turn.

William's main body consisting of his Dutch guard, then the finest infantry in Europe, and some regiments of French Hugonots and other fugitives, now entered the river, and found the water rising as high as their breasts. They advanced firmly, holding their muskets above their heads under a severe and close fire, poured upon them by several Irish battalions which Hamilton had placed upon the bank. The Dutch were not shaken ; they pushed forward, and, having gained the bank, rapidly formed, driving in the skirmishers before them. They were repeatedly charged by the Irish cavalry ; but though they suffered severely, their squares remained unbroken. William immediately ordered two Hugonot regiments and one British to advance to the relief of his favourite troops. They were met by Hamilton's infantry in the stream ; but at length made good their passage. Scarcely, however, had this been effected, when they were charged by the Irish cavalry. The British regiment maintained its ranks ; but the Hugonots being taken in flank, were broken, scattered, and trampled down in a moment. Caillemotte, their brave commander, was slain, the greater part of the men cut to pieces ; a few fled to the opposite bank, pursued by the dragoons. The Danish horse next advanced, but were broken by the Irish in the very first charge, and driven back in great confusion. The superiority of the Irish cavalry was now so apparent, that William's soldiers, who had not yet crossed, raised a cry of "Horse, horse ! " which, being

mistaken for an order “ To halt,” only increased the confusion.

Had James chosen at this moment to place himself at the head of his troops for one general charge, or had the French auxiliaries attacked the Dutch in flank, the event of the battle would certainly have restored his crown. But he remained a passive spectator on the hill of Donore ; and, as the Irish traditions unanimously assert, exclaimed, as he witnessed the destructive charges of Hamilton’s dragoons, “ Spare, oh spare my English subjects ! ” As to the French troops, their behaviour is wholly inexplicable, and we cannot even conjecture a probable cause for their inactivity. William, with his usual presence of mind, hasted to bring up his left wing to retrieve the fortune of the day, and at the same time, the brave old Schomberg rallied some infantry and cavalry, and led them to the relief of the centre. The Irish dragoons, returning from the pursuit of the Danes, charged and broke this reinforcement. Old Schomberg was taken prisoner, but immediately after was shot by one of his own men. At the same time fell Walker the clergyman, who had so bravely defended Derry, and who seems to have imbibed a fatal passion for the military profession. William had no great respect, and still less affection, for the character of this clerical soldier. When told of his death he coolly observed, “ The fool ! what business had he there ? ”

The left wing, consisting of the Danish, Dutch, and Enniskillen horse, and a large body of infantry, now entered the action with their gallant monarch at their head. They pushed on steadily, and forced back the Irish infantry ; but Hamilton’s dragoons still preserved their former superiority. They com-

pletely broke the foreign cavalry, and threatened the flanks of William's battalions. He then rode to the Enniskilleners, and asked "what they would do for him?" Being informed that he was the King, they declared that they were ready to follow him; but being disheartened by a close and destructive volley, they wheeled round, and galloped from the field. Their apologists say, that they misunderstood their orders, and, on discovering their mistake, returned again to the fight. However that may be, it is certain that William, ever after, viewed this part of his forces with contempt, not unmixed with hatred. The Irish infantry were forced to retreat to the hill of Donore, where they made such a desperate stand that William's army recoiled. Hamilton seized the decisive moment to charge; but the squares of the British infantry could not be broken; his troops recoiled, and he remained a prisoner. The Irish then made good their retreat to Duleek; and their cavalry effectually checked every attempt at pursuit.*

There is a great difference in the many cotemporary narratives of this engagement that have been published. It was long the fashion of the Cromwellians to deprecate the valour of the Irish; and

* When Hamilton was brought before William, he asked him, "whether the Irish would fight again?"—"Upon my honour, I believe they will," replied the Irish general. "Honour! your honour!" said William, with bitter irony, alluding to Hamilton's breach of faith in the negotiation with Tyrconnel. The general might have defended himself, by pleading his superior obligation to preserve his allegiance to his faithful sovereign, and retorted on the not very candid manner in which William had behaved, both to his father-in-law and the English nation. But it is not easy to argue with the leader of thirty thousand men; and Hamilton prudently remained silent.

they have not neglected it on this occasion. But the main facts of the battle are indisputable. William's army was numerically superior to his opponents by several thousands ; the English had a still greater advantage in discipline and experience ; and also in their artillery and equipments. Yet was the issue of the contest doubtful to the last moment of the day ; and, at its close, William had gained nothing but the ground on which it had been fought. Except Hamilton, the English took no prisoners ; and the Irish preserved all their artillery, baggage, and standards. The numbers slain in the field of battle were nearly equal in both sides ; but the balance against the Irish was increased after the engagement, by the marauders of William's camp, who murdered the peasantry that had come through curiosity to see the battle, the stragglers, and the wounded. In this safe, but not very honourable service, the Enniskilleners were particularly distinguished. The indisputable superiority of Hamilton's cavalry seems to have sorely annoyed those writers who hate to acknowledge any merits in Irishmen. They gravely assure us, that their valour was owing to a half pint of brandy, which had been administered to each trooper in the morning ! Those who are acquainted with Irish soldiers, know well that double that quantity of ardent spirits would make but little difference in their conduct. After the many proofs of Hibernian bravery exhibited during the late war, it now seems unnecessary to vindicate their character ; but as bigotry and party zeal have not unfrequently revived these calumnies, it is the duty of an impartial historian to defend the character of the brave, more especially when they have been unfortunate.

With equal injustice have many Irish Catholic and Continental writers attempted to detract from William's merits in this engagement. If heroism could bestow a title to a throne, William merited one on this occasion. His coolness, his courage, his presence of mind, averted total ruin, which frequently seemed impending ; and he alone deserves the credit of the final success ; for, without an abuse of language, it can scarcely be called a victory. Though suffering from the pain of the wound which he had received on the preceding evening, he shared in all the fatigues of the battle. He was constantly to be seen in the hottest part of the engagement, directing the evolutions, and animating the courage of his soldiers. Under every danger and difficulty he preserved the same unshaken firmness ; and when one of his own troopers, not recognising his person, levelled a pistol at his head, he coolly put it aside, saying, "What ! do you not know your own friends ? "

Before the fate of the battle was quite decided, James fled to Dublin, and summoned a hasty council of his friends. To them he addressed a speech, equally false, malignant, and ungrateful. He ascribed his defeat to the cowardice of the Irish—declared that he believed the contest hopeless ; and then continued his flight to Waterford, breaking down the bridges to prevent a pursuit. The Irish were heartily glad to get rid of him. They justly ascribed their defeat to his cowardice and incapacity. " Change kings," was their common cry, " and we will fight the battle over again ! " At this hour the name of the wretched monarch is never mentioned in Ireland without an unsavoury epithet, expressive of the utmost contempt and detestation.

Thus left to themselves, the Irish leaders determined to adopt their original plan, and withdraw their forces behind the Shannon. Before leaving Dublin, they released all the prisoners whom James had confined for political offences; and, assembling the principal Protestants, resigned the custody of the city into their hands. Scarcely, however, was the garrison withdrawn, than a Protestant mob assembled, and began to plunder the houses of the Catholic gentry. Sarsfield's house was not only robbed, but totally destroyed. Increasing in violence, the frantic populace set fire to the suburbs, and threatened to burn the city. Fitzgerald, one of the Kildare family, who had assumed the government, with difficulty restrained these excesses, and sent an earnest request to William for a sufficient garrison. The tardiness of the King's movements after the battle of the Boyne, exposed him to severe censures, which he by no means merited. Alarming accounts reached him of a general conspiracy against his power throughout England and Scotland. He knew that a French fleet was at sea, and that a squadron of frigates had been detached to destroy his transports, and blockade his army in Ireland. Luckily for him, these frigates were met by James, who insisted on their returning with him to France, and thus saved his enemy from inevitable ruin. England had at this time ceased to be mistress of the sea. Her navy, united with that of Holland, had been severely defeated by the French off Beachy Head, the day before the battle of the Boyne, and a French army was daily expected to land on her shores. But the schemes of Louis were disconcerted by the withdrawing of the frigates by James. He feared William's presence in England would

render an invasion hopeless ; and when he could not longer confine him to Ireland, laid aside the plan altogether.

Drogheda surrendered immediately after the battle of the Boyne, William having declared that he would give no quarter in case of resistance. It is scarcely credible that he seriously designed to repeat the barbarities of Cromwell, but it is a stain on his character that he even threatened such an atrocity. It is more to be lamented that he adopted the policy of the Anglo-Irish, and made this a war of confiscation. No pretence whatever can be discovered for treating the Irish then in arms as rebels. If James had abdicated the English throne, which clearly he did not, still he had never in any way resigned his right to Ireland. The Irish Parliament had unanimously recognised him as their sovereign, and his authority had been implicitly obeyed in the greater part of the island. William, as he frequently showed, was duly impressed with these considerations ; but he could not do justice even if he wished. He was at the mercy of the popular party in England, and they were taught by the Cromwellians that the Irish had rebelled against "the English interest," and "Protestant ascendancy"—two convenient phrases for their own vile and detestable oligarchy.

After a long pause William advanced to Dublin; and formed his camp at Finglas, within two miles of that city. He received the addresses of the clergy with his usual coldness ; but gratified the rapacity of his adherents by issuing a commission of forfeitures. He also published a proclamation offering pardon and protection to such labourers, farmers and artisans, as would accept his protection and live in peace ;

but at the same time declaring that he would, “ leave the desperate leaders of the rebellion to the chances of war.” In other words, denouncing robbery and murder against all the Irish noblemen and gentlemen who were in arms to support the cause of their rightful sovereign. The Irish leaders, if they had ever wavered, which is not improbable, were confirmed in the design of maintaining the war by this iniquitous denunciation. They fortified themselves in Limerick and Athlone ; and being thus secured by the strong line of the Shannon, they boldly set their enemies at defiance.

The reduction of Athlone was intrusted to General Douglas, under whose command were placed ten regiments of infantry and five of cavalry. He advanced as if he was marching through an enemy’s country. The protections which had been granted to the peasants who had submitted according to the terms of the royal proclamation, were flagrantly disregarded ; and the barbarities, which the General made scarcely an effort to check, completed the aversion of the Irish to the dominion of the Prince of Orange. Before proceeding to the west, William had reduced Wexford, Waterford, Clonmel and Duncannon, with little difficulty. The fortifications of these towns had not been repaired since the former war ; and as the Irish had determined to make their great stand behind the Shannon, no effort was made to save them. The news from England was at one time so alarming, that William was on the point of returning thither, and committing the care of Ireland to his generals. He had, in fact, completed all the preparations for his departure, when more favourable intelligence arrived, and he resolved to remain and prosecute the Irish war.

On arriving before Athlone, Douglas found the part of the town which lay to the east of the Shannon destroyed, the bridge broken down, and the Irish town, as it was called, on the west bank, fortified with great care. Colonel Grace the governor, a descendant of Raymond le Gros, one of the original Norman invaders, had taken every possible precaution against a siege, and indeed had made the place nearly impregnable. Douglas, having arrived at the opposite side of the river, was surprised to find such formidable preparations made for his reception. He sent a summons into the town ; but Grace, enraged at the accounts of the cruelties perpetrated by the English army, fired a pistol at the messenger, and bade him take that as his answer. Douglas resolved to undertake the siege in form ; and having erected a battery, opened a heavy fire on the castle. It was returned with superior vigour ; his works were ruined, and his best gunner killed. The cruelties his soldiers had perpetrated on the peasantry, produced their natural effect. No provisions were brought into the camp ; and the detached parties sent out to forage, were cut off by parties of those unfortunate men whom they had themselves driven to desperation. The Protestants in the neighbourhood suffered most severely. Before the arrival of the English army, they had taken out protections from the Irish commanders, and had lived safely under them ; but, on the approach of those whom they deemed their friends, they resigned the benefit of these protections, and declared themselves subjects of William. Their reward was insult and spoliation. The English soldiers, or rather, the foreign adventurers of which the English army was composed, cared more for plunder than religion. With

strict impartiality they robbed equally Protestants and Catholics, and made both the victims of their abominable depravity. There was this difference, however, between them—the Catholics could at any time find shelter within the Irish lines. The Protestants having committed themselves, by declaring for William, were forced to submit to whatever indignities his army chose to inflict ; and they were numerous, grievous, and oppressive.

After having fired for several days on the castle to little purpose, it was determined by the English to force the passage of the river at Lanesborough, some miles farther north ; but the detachment sent for this purpose found the pass already occupied by the enemy, and, after a faint effort, it was forced to retire with considerable loss. A proposal was made to attempt a passage by a ford at some distance from the bridge ; but this was found to be so well secured by some field-works which the Irish had erected on the bank, that the attempt was given up as desperate. In the meantime, a report was circulated that Sarsfield was advancing with fifteen thousand men to raise the siege. Douglas had no longer any hopes of success. He retired with great precipitation, abandoning his heavy baggage, and quitting the high road for fear of a pursuit. The miseries endured by this unfortunate army in their retreat were dreadful ; but they were exceeded by those of the unfortunate Protestants, who had no other alternative but to accompany their oppressors.

Douglas found William advancing towards Limerick, fully persuaded that he was marching to speedy and certain conquest. He had learned, by his spies, the bitter jealousy that existed between the Irish and French, and that several of Louis's officers, already

disgusted with the nature of their service, had returned home. The reports were true; but William was no longer in a situation to avail himself of these circumstances. By his commission of forfeitures, he had rendered justice to the Irish nearly impossible, and left them no choice between war and a tame submission to unprincipled spoliation.

Trusting to the effect of the dissensions between the French and Irish, William made very inefficient preparations for the siege. He brought with him only a field-train, and ordered his heavy artillery to be sent after him from Dublin, under a sufficient escort. After driving in the outposts, the English army encamped within cannon-shot of the walls, and a regular summons was sent to the governor, Boileau. A soldier-like answer was returned. The French general wrote to the King's secretary, because he could not give the royal title to a person whom his master recognised only as Prince of Orange. He stated, that he was surprised at the summons, and that he hoped to acquire the good opinion of the Prince, by a gallant defence of the fortress with which he had been intrusted. The spirit manifested by the governor was well supported by the garrison; and it was soon discovered that no hopes could be entertained of a speedy surrender. The siege was therefore undertaken in form.

Few besieging armies ever exhibited such a variety of tongues and nations, as that now assembled before Limerick; * and still fewer were less guided by any

* It is said, that the Danish regiments expressed great gratification at discovering, on the ground of their encampment, one of those circular mounds which are so common in Ireland, and still retain the name of Danish Forts. They were proud at discovering such memorials of the time when the name of the Sea-kings filled Western Europe with terror.

principle of morals or humanity. They plundered and burned the country in every direction, and renewed the scenes of brutal lust and barbarous murder which had been displayed at Athlone. As in the former instance, the Protestants were the principal sufferers; for on the advance of the English army, they had all resigned their Irish protections, and tendered their allegiance to William. For these men there was no retreat; they were obliged to submit to every indignity. The vigorous defence of the garrison filled William with anxiety. He sent orders to hasten his heavy artillery, and commanded his cavalry to scour the country, and repel the attacks of the peasants, who sought every opportunity of retaliating the wrongs they had suffered from the soldiers.

The news of William's situation was conveyed into Limerick by a French deserter; and Sarsfield immediately formed the daring plan of surprising the escort that was now on the road. For this purpose, he secretly led his troops over Thomond Bridge, and, proceeding up the Shannon as far as Killaloe, crossed over into the county of Tipperary, and formed an ambush on the line of march which the escort should pursue. Manus O'Brien, a Protestant gentleman of Clare, brought intelligence of Sarsfield's march to William's camp; but the English officers laughed at him for his pains; and much precious time was lost before he could gain admittance to the Royal presence. The King at once conjectured Sarsfield's object, and ordered Sir John Lanier to proceed with a detachment of five hundred horse, to protect the convoy. The precaution was taken too late.

The convoy arrived within seven miles of the rear

of William's camp on a fine autumnal evening, without having discovered the appearance of an enemy during their entire journey. Here they halted in reckless security, not dreading an attack so near the main body of the army. Suddenly, Sarsfield and his cavalry rushed upon them; the waggoners and sentinels were cut to pieces in a moment; the others, startled from their sleep, half-armed, confused, and unacquainted with the country, were slaughtered almost without resistance. Sarsfield hasted to improve his advantages; he loaded the cannon to the muzzles, and buried them deep in earth, heaping over them stones, carriages, and ammunition-waggons; he then laid a train to the whole, and, drawing off his men, fired it on his retreat. The dreadful explosion was heard at the distance of several miles through the surrounding country, and was by many mistaken for a supernatural occurrence. Lanier and his party came up just in time to witness the work of destruction; they attempted to revenge it by an attack on Sarsfield's rear, but were so roughly handled that they were forced to retreat; and the whole Irish party returned into Limerick without loss.

William could not yet bring himself to raise the siege; two of his cannon had escaped without injury, and with these he determined, if possible, to effect a breach. After an incessant fire of several days, the wall at length began to yield; and, by perseverance, a breach twelve yards in length was made. A gallant storming-party was formed; five hundred British grenadiers, supported by the Dutch guards, and some English and Brandenburg regiments, drew up under cover of their intrenchments, and, about three o'clock in the afternoon, were ready to start on their hazardous enterprise. These preparations

had not escaped the notice of the garrison ; the fire from the walls, and that from the English batteries, ceased ; a perfect stillness reigned in the camp and in the city ; there was a brief space of deep and awful silence—no unsuitable prelude to the work of death and destruction. The day was intensely hot ; the sun shone with unusual brightness in a cloudless sky ; not a breeze rippled the broad expanse of the Shannon ; nature seemed to have presented all the images of tranquillity, as dissuasives from the carnage that was about to ensue. Three cannon, shot in rapid succession, gave the fatal signal ; the grenadiers leaped from their intrenchments, and rushed towards the breach, firing their muskets and hurling their grenades ; the Irish opened on them, from the walls, a perfect hail-storm of shot ; the English batteries answered with a heavy fire, to divert the attention of the garrison ; the storming party hurried on, and were soon engaged, hand to hand, with their enemies at the outside of the breach. The grenadiers forced their way, and part of them actually entered the town ; but the Irish closed their ranks behind them, and effectually checked the progress of the rest. These brave men were nearly all destroyed. The citizens, in overwhelming crowds, fell upon them ; and only a few, desperately wounded, succeeded in cutting a way back to their companions. The breach was again assailed, and again defended, with the same determined spirit. Crowds of women mingled with the soldiers, and fought as bravely as the men. They reproached William's soldiers with the nameless abominations of which they had been guilty, and vowed, in their own nervous language, to be torn in piece-meal, before they would submit to the power of such wretches. For three hours this furious contest

was maintained with equal obstinacy. A regiment of Brandenburghers seized possession of an Irish battery ; but, at the moment that they were about to improve their advantage, the magazine took fire, and they were all blown into the air. William now saw that success was hopeless. He, therefore, ordered a retreat, after having lost two thousand of his best men.

It is said, that the English soldiers were anxious to make a second assault ; but the King clearly saw that it was absolutely necessary to retreat. He, therefore, disarmed his batteries, and led away his diminished army, accompanied by a melancholy troop of Protestants, who could no longer remain in their former homes, and were wholly without protection, from the indiscriminate ravages of the licentious soldiery. The excesses of William's army during this retreat can scarcely be paralleled in the annals of war ; but the imputation that the King himself countenanced their cruelties is certainly groundless. William's was not a perfect character ; but he does not appear to have been capable of the monstrous atrocities with which he has been charged by his enemies ;—atrocities that would never have been credited, but for the horrid massacre at Glenco. Having conducted the troops to Clonmel, William hastened to Duncannon, and embarked for England, accompanied by Prince George of Denmark. He intrusted the command of the army to Count Solmes and General Ginckle. Lord Sidney and Mr Coningsby were appointed Lords-justices, with a blank in their commission for the insertion of a third name.

CHAPTER XIII.

Marlborough's and Ginckle's Winter Campaign.

WE have already mentioned the jealousies that subsisted between William and those who had raised him to the throne. National animosity increased this discontent. The English felt that the Dutch had succeeded to their place among the leading powers of Europe. They deemed that they had become a mere appendage to Holland, and were unable to conceal their mortification. The appointment of foreigners to all the important military commands in Ireland, was felt as a reproach upon English courage and conduct. Even the successes of the King himself afforded no pleasure to the people, for they could not cease to regard him as a foreigner. The head of the powerful party, that adopted and propagated these sentiments, was the Princess Anne, whom her brother-in-law had unwisely treated with neglect and contumely. She laboured to raise up an English hero, who might prove a worthy rival of William; and such she found in the Earl of Marlborough, with whose Countess she was united in the bonds of a most intimate friendship. Marlborough proposed to the English government to undertake the conquest of Cork and Kinsale, and thus

complete the reduction of the eastern coast of Ireland. William, though aware that this proposal was designed for his own mortification, could not venture to resist, and yielded a reluctant assent.

It was so late in the year as the twenty-first of September, when Marlborough arrived in the harbour of Cork, where little or no preparations had been made for resistance. He landed almost without opposition, and marched straight towards the city by the passage road. He was soon after joined by Sgravenmore, whom Ginckle had detached to his assistance, with nine hundred cavalry. These were followed by four thousand infantry, under the command of the Prince of Wirtemberg, who appears to have been instigated by William to claim a share in the expedition. Wirtemberg, as the superior in rank, claimed the chief command; but Marlborough insisted, that the armament had been confided to himself, and would not allow his right to be disputed. After a long dispute, a formal reconciliation was effected by the intervention of their friends. It was agreed, that each should command in turn on alternate days. Marlborough took his turn first, and gave the word "Wirtemberg." The Prince felt the force of this politeness; and when he took the command, the word was "Marlborough." But, notwithstanding this reciprocity of compliments, their mutual jealousy continued unabated.

The siege of Cork was an enterprise of more importance than difficulty. The city is built on a marshy plain, surrounded and commanded by hills. The walls were in a sad state of disrepair; and the castle of Shandon, by which the city is commanded on the northern side, was so dilapidated, that it was at once resigned to the besiegers. The garrison had

therefore, no hope of final success ; but they determined to make such a defence, as would entitle them to favourable terms of capitulation. The batteries which Marlborough had planted on the south side of the river, soon made a practicable breach ; but the assault was by no means void of hazard. Between the camp and the city a branch of the Lee, fordable only at low water, runs ; and beyond that lay a marsh, now built over, which served as a counterscarp to the fortifications. When the breach had been effected, the governor offered to submit on the same conditions that William had usually granted to the Irish garrisons, namely, that the troops should march out with their arms, and be conveyed to Limerick. Marlborough, anxious to show that William had been too lenient on such occasions, peremptorily insisted that the garrison should become prisoners of war. Württemberg as strenuously recommended compliance with the governor's demands. While the generals wasted time in this dispute, the tide returned, the ford was no longer passable, and the firing was renewed at both sides. When the breach had been further enlarged, orders were given that a storming party should be formed. Several English officers volunteered their services on the occasion, and, among others, the Duke of Grafton, the most respectable of the natural children of Charles II.

The English troops bravely pressed through the river, and formed a lodgement on the marsh, not far from the walls. Here the Duke of Grafton was killed. The spot where he fell is still called Grafton Alley, now nearly in the heart of the city. Before any further progress could be made, the garrison renewed their parley, and surrendered them-

selves prisoners of war, on condition that persons and property should be respected. The ink with which the capitulation had been signed was not yet dry, when it was flagrantly violated in every particular. A mob of the lower order of Protestants assembled, and began to plunder the houses, and ill treat the persons of the Catholic citizens. The army was not slow in imitating the contagious example, and a dreadful scene of licentious confusion ensued. The governor was wounded ; the Earls of Tyrone and Clancarty could scarcely escape with their lives. Marlborough and Wirtemberg strenuously exerted themselves to put an end to these disgraceful proceedings ; they succeeded with great difficulty, but not before several persons had been severely hurt, and immense mischief done to property.

From Cork, Marlborough advanced to Kinsale. At his approach the garrison abandoned the town, and retired to the castles called Old Fort and Charles Fort. The former of these was easily taken by storm. The latter made a formidable resistance, and Marlborough was obliged to grant the governor the terms which he had previously refused to the garrison of Cork. It is suspected also, that he made use of golden arguments to persuade the governor to a speedy surrender.

The merits of this brief campaign were not very great ; but its successful termination, contrasted with William's disgraceful retreat from Limerick, gratified the pride of the English, and threw the nation into a transport of joy. Thenceforward Marlborough became the favourite hero of his countrymen, and acquired the power of pursuing that brilliant career which has rendered his name immortal.

The greater part of the French auxiliaries were withdrawn from Ireland, in consequence of the misrepresentations of James, who declared that the further protraction of the war was useless. How great are the accumulated wrongs that the Irish have suffered from the Stuarts! The first James robbed the natives of Ulster of their property, on account of a conspiracy that never existed, and for which, even if it had existed, they could not be answerable. The first Charles attempted a still more unprincipled spoliation in Connaught, and gave the nation as a sacrifice to glut the fanatic Puritans, in order to divert their attention from himself. The second Charles joined in the robbery of those who had devoted their lives to his service, and gave their estates to the Cromwellian adventurers. And now, the second James having prevented them from making an honourable peace, laboured to destroy their chance of waging a successful war, and, as far as he was concerned, devoted them to ruin.

The Irish witnessed the departure of the French without regret. Confident in their own resources, and relying on the abilities of their favourite general, Sarsfield, they still hoped for victory, and looked forward, not with ill-grounded confidence, to the final result. Ginckle, after the surrender of Cork, determined to harass the Irish by a winter campaign, and despatched a party of his troops to subdue the western part of the county of Cork, and the county of Kerry. The plan completely failed. His troops were unable to force the mountain-passes, and were driven back with considerable loss. The Irish, on their part, were defeated in an attempt to surprise the garrison of Mullingar.

But the English suffered most from the opera-

tions of the irregular troops. Sarsfield's cavalry swept the plains round their posts, surprised their detachments, intercepted their convoys, beat up their quarters. Numbers of the peasantry, driven from their homes by the violence of the soldiers, formed themselves into troops of banditti, called, from the pikes with which they were armed, *rapparees*. They laid waste the country within the English lines, and carried their plunder in safety to their fastnesses in the bogs and mountains, their cunning and agility rendering all pursuit ineffectual. To oppose these, the government authorized the organization of Protestant rapparees, and thus increased the calamity; for the new corps of robbers was employed more in securing plunder for themselves, than in checking the inroads of the Irish. Ginckle began to despair. He wrote to the King, explaining his situation, and declaring his belief, that, if conciliatory measures were adopted, and equitable terms offered to the Irish, that the war might easily be terminated; but that the dread of confiscation compelled the Irish gentry to persevere in resistance even against their will. The King himself entertained the same opinions, and would willingly have granted the terms which he had originally offered Tyrconnel; but that faction, known by the name of the Old Castle Party, which has ever been the bane of Ireland, possessed more power in the cabinet than the King himself, and frustrated his wise and benevolent intentions.

The remembrance of the game of the Cromwellian forfeitures, was strong in the recollection of these persons. To win estates for themselves, by the same abominable means, was the object of their highest ambition. They played with sure cards; the hazard

and danger of the war fell on the army. England bore the entire expense : they trusted to monopolize all the fruits of victory. To those who remember how many attempts have been made, within the memory of man, to repeat the same game, there can be little necessity of furnishing any proofs of this infamous policy ; but to others, the following extract from a letter written to Ginckle, by the Irish Secretary of State, will disclose some part of that mystery of iniquity which was sanctioned under the pretence of its being necessary to support "the Protestant interest."

"I did very much hope," he says, "that some favourable declaration might have been emitted to break the Irish army, and save the cost of a field-battle. *But I see our civil officers regard more adding £.50 a year to the English proprietary in this kingdom, than saving England the expense of £.50,000.* I promise myself, it is for the King's, the allies', and England's interest, to remit most, or all the forfeitures, so that we could immediately bring the kingdom under their Majesties' obedience."

Unfortunately for the interests both of England and Ireland, these prudent councils were defeated. A long campaign, in which the entire English interest was several times on the very brink of ruin, and was only saved by accidents, so far beyond the calculations of ordinary events, that they might almost be deemed providential interpositions. Ireland was delivered over to the government of a merciless faction, whose boast was, that they crushed her spirit, wasted her resources, and baffled the bounties of Providence. Nor did England escape with impunity for having, though ignorantly, countenanced this

injustice. The Irish war laid the foundation of the national debt, which has been so long a heavy and almost intolerable burden on her industry and resources; for in the dispensations of Heaven, there is a punishment for the sins of nations as well as individuals. We have bestowed merited censure on the act of forfeiture passed by James's parliament, and we must not withhold condemnation from the unprincipled confiscations sanctioned by the government of William. From a report presented to the English House of Commons, it appears, that the forfeitures made by the government of King William, stripped shree thousand nine hundred and twenty-one persons of lands, amounting to more than one million and sixty thousand acres, valued, in that day, at three millions three hundred and nineteen thousand, nine hundred and forty-three pounds sterling—a prize well worthy the attention of the "exclusively loyal," as they termed themselves, especially when, without any risk of their own, they could contend for it with the blood of foreigners and the wealth of England.

The mode in which the Lords-justices and the "Castle party" proceeded, is an edifying example of the mode by which the forms of law have been so often prostituted to sanction injustice in Ireland. They indicted the Irish gentlemen who possessed any estates of high treason, in the several counties over which they had jurisdiction; and then removed them all, by *certiorari*, to the Court of King's Bench in Dublin. By this ingenious contrivance, those who were to be robbed lost all opportunity of making their defence; indeed, in most cases, they were ignorant of their being accused; and the Irish government was saved the trouble of showing how the Irish people could be guilty of high treason, for support-

ing the cause of their rightful monarch against a foreign invader. They felt conscious that this was a matter not to be proved very easily ; and we must give them due credit for the prudent modesty of their silence.

During the winter, rumours of plots and conspiracies were ripe in Dublin. They served as an excuse for issuing some very severe proclamations against Papists ; and many of them, no doubt, were invented for the purpose. The cotemporary pamphlets furnish us with some strange instances of clumsy fabrications, which, in that day, met ready credence, and with not a few melancholy examples of the atrocities to which fear, the most cruel of the passions, hurried men, that would, under other circumstances, have been patterns of honour and humanity.

The proclamations of the Lords-justices are precious specimens of Anglo-Irish legislation. The first declared, that the Popish inhabitants of counties should be assessed, to make good the damages done to Protestant properties within the said counties. This wise plan of making the innocent suffer for the guilty is still preserved, but without the religious distinction. It has enabled some very honest individuals to convert old houses into new, and sell stacks of bad corn at the price of good, by seizing the golden opportunity of real or pretended insurrection, to fire one's own house or barn. The second edict declared, that no one should be protected who had a son in the enemy's quarters—an ingenious conversion of the old “ punishing the sins of the fathers upon the children,” by making the parent answerable for his offspring, which has not since been thought worthy of imitation. A third proclamation ordered, that no more than ten Catholics should assemble in

a body ; and sentenced the priest of the parish, where such an assembly should be held, to transportation..

Ginckle was honoured with the intense hatred of the Castle-faction, for his resistance to their dreadful system of slaughter and confiscation, which, in plainer terms, he looked upon as nothing better than murder and robbery. He solicited the Lords-justices to issue a proclamation, promising protection and security of person and property to the Irish, on their submission ; but the desire of forfeitures was too strong ; they encountered his requests with equivocation and delay ; and, finally, answered him with a flat refusal. Fearing, however, the Royal displeasure, they graciously permitted him to issue a proclamation in *his own name*, offering to grant *reasonable terms* to all in arms, on their immediate submission. The Irish were not such fools as to be duped by this illusive promise ; they saw at once how matters stood, and resolved to persevere in their resistance.

At this time, most of the Irish leaders were sincerely anxious for an accommodation ; they were disgusted with James, and justly indignant at the treatment they had received from the court of France ; they entertained, besides, a high respect for the character of William and his military officers, whom they never confounded with the malignant Cromwellians. But in this, as in several other instances, a wretched faction stood between the throne and the people, depriving the sovereign of the allegiance of valuable subjects, and robbing the nation of the blessings that flow from a paternal government.

CHAPTER XIV.

The Siege of Athlone—The Battle of Aughrim.

A. D. 1691.—THE defeat of the English army at Athlone and Limerick, convinced Louis that his ally had too soon despaired of Ireland; and, anxious to protract the war, he sent thither some officers, a small sum of money, and a good supply of military stores. In adherence to the line of miserable policy which he had previously pursued, he only made such exertions as would serve to protract the war, and could not be persuaded to send such a force as must have driven the English army to their ships. Ten thousand men, a force which the French King could well afford, would have given him possession of Ireland; but, with unusual and unwise caution, he refused to risk a sufficient armament until it was too late. The wretched James could not resist the opportunity of insulting his devoted subjects, even in this the crisis of their fate. Though the retrieval of his affairs was owing to the exertions of the gallant Sarsfield, he would not intrust him with the command of the army, but conferred it on St Ruth, a French general of some reputation. Such an insult to the favourite hero of the Irish, was poorly compensated by the title of Earl of Lucan which he conferred on him. Sarsfield was disgusted; and

the conduct of St Ruth by no means tended to soothe his irritated feelings. The French general was unquestionably possessed of great military talents ; but, as unquestionably, he greatly overrated their importance. From the very outset, he seriously believed that the terror of his name would be sufficient to conquer Ginckle ; and he did not discover his mistake, before this stupid vanity had nearly ruined his cause. The manners of St Ruth were far from conciliating ; he treated the Irish generals with supercilious contempt, and, when they presumed to offer advice, pursued a line of conduct opposite to that which they recommended, from a pure spirit of obstinacy. To the Irish ladies he behaved in that style of affected gallantry then fashionable at the French court, but which the native Irish have ever regarded with detestation. The time that should have been spent in preparing for the campaign, was wasted by St Ruth in balls, festivals, and idle reviews. A chief cause of his negligence was, his having found the Irish army so much better organized than he expected, and his firm persuasion that the line of the Shannon was impregnable. Had he paid the slightest attention to its defence, he might, behind it, have defied all the strength of England. The Irish officers could scarcely suppress their indignation at “ being thus pestered with a popinjay ;” and in some of their letters written about this period, we find them bitterly complaining of the hard fate which bound them to the service of a monarch that they despised, because the sovereign to whom they were anxious to tender their allegiance could not, in return, secure them in life and estate.

Ginckle’s preparations for the ensuing campaign, showed how deeply he was impressed with its im-

portance ; he obtained considerable reinforcements from England, an additional train of artillery, and an abundant supply of military stores ; he drew in most of his garrisons, and even brought all his soldiers from Dublin, to strengthen his army for the approaching struggle. The Lords-justices and the Castle-faction complained bitterly of being left thus exposed to danger ; but Ginckle had too much reason to be offended by their obstinate adherence to their plan of protracting the war for the sake of confiscations, to regard their remonstrances ; and would probably not have been sorry to learn that the Wicklow mountaineers had rushed upon Dublin in his absence, and fairly removed, for ever, those great obstacles to an honourable peace. The Irish garrisons east of the Shannon were easily subdued ; but the treatment of the prisoners presented a question of some little difficulty. It had not yet been settled whether the Irish were enemies or rebels ; and, consequently, it was not determined whether their lives should be spared when they were taken. Ginckle in most, but not in all cases, leaned to a merciful decision ; but his Cromwellian auxiliaries were never troubled with any scruples. Though the Irish were not rebels against the King, they were rebels against their tyrannical oligarchy ; and therefore they hanged them on every occasion without ceremony. Such has been the conduct of the same parties in every subsequent instance. The troops of the line sent to quell any of those insurrections against local misgovernment, which have been, with strange perversion of language, denominated, " Irish Rebels," have generally behaved to the peasantry with the utmost tenderness ; but in no case has there

been even the semblance of mercy in the conduct of the Irish militia and yeomanry.

Contrary to the advice of the Irish leaders, St Ruth had fortified the English town of Athlone, on the eastern bank of the Shannon. It had been re-signed as defenceless, in the former campaign, by Grace ; and the imperfect repairs which it now received were insufficient to sustain the heavy fire of the English batteries. On the 18th of June, Ginckle appeared before Athlone, and advanced towards the town, driving in the Irish skirmishing parties, which had been sent to annoy, rather than interrupt his march. He opened a heavy fire from a battery of ten guns on the English town, and soon effected a practicable breach. After a fierce resistance, the place was taken by assault; but the garrison retreated into the Irish town, and broke down the bridge behind them.

The loss which he had sustained in obtaining even this partial success, filled the English general with anxiety. He immediately sent for additional reinforcements; and in the mean time erected several batteries, from which he poured an overwhelming fire on the devoted Irish town of Athlone. Notwithstanding their vast inferiority in weight of metal, the Irish returned the fire with great spirit. Night brought no respite to the toils of either besiegers or besieged. It was midsummer; the weather was singularly fine, and, in the clear sky, the extreme of evening almost touched the morning's dawn. Athlone was soon a heap of ruins. Tower, battlement, and rampart, fell in succession before the storm of shot and shells incessantly hailed from the English batteries. But the garrison retired not from these ruins, and defended the shapeless mounds

of broken fortifications as fiercely as if they had been perfect defences. An attempt was made to turn the Irish position, by forcing a passage at Lanesborough; but the pass was too well guarded to render success at all probable. Ginckle saw, that his only hope was to force a passage by the bridge. He erected a breastwork and covered gallery on his side of the bridge, and directed all the fire of his batteries on the works which the Irish had erected at their extremity. The heat of the weather made the wattles and wood-work, at the Irish side, as dry as tinder. They took fire by the bursting of a shell; and, under cover of the smoke, the English workmen hasted to lay beams and planks across the broken arch. The work was almost completed, when a sergeant and ten men, covered with complete armour, sprung over the ruins of the Irish breastwork, and began to destroy the newly-formed passage. For one moment the English paused in admiration of the heroic attempt; in the next, the batteries swept them from the world. A second party, similarly accoutred, succeeded, and completed the destruction of the work, under the incessant discharge from the English lines, and two of them returned to the town alive. Nine days elapsed before Ginckle was ready to make a second attempt. The Irish received information of his designs, and were prepared for his reception. The attack had but just commenced, when the grenades thrown by the Irish set fire to the English breast-work; and, before the flames could be extinguished, all the works, galleries, and pontoons which Ginckle had so laboriously prepared, were burned to ashes. Saint Ruth was intoxicated with success. He removed the brave defenders of Athlone, and supplied their place with inferior regiments. He issued in-

vitations to all the gentry in the neighbourhood, and gave them a splendid entertainment, followed by a ball, in his camp, as if there was no longer any reason to dread danger. In the English camp there was certainly great consternation ; but there was, at the same time, that determined valour which sinks not under any adverse circumstances, and derives the means of victory from defeat itself. Ginckle convened another council, where it was warmly debated, whether the army should retreat or make a second assault ; for it was impossible to continue the siege longer, as the surrounding country was exhausted, and the army could obtain neither provision nor forage. Ginckle's opinion was for immediate retreat ; but he was persuaded by the majority of his officers to make a second attempt, by fording the river on the following morning. The news of Saint Ruth's absurd confidence, which he learned by means of his spies, encouraged the English general ; and to increase it, he began to withdraw his guns from the batteries, as if preparing for immediate departure. The Irish officers were not deceived by these appearances. They entreated Saint Ruth to be on his guard against another attack. He laughed at their cautions, and said that the English would not dare to attempt it. Sarsfield coolly answered, that the enterprise was not too difficult for English courage. The French general made a contumelious reply, and Sarsfield, justly offended, withdrew.

To avoid any appearance by which the enemy might be alarmed, it was resolved to make the attempt at the ordinary hour of relieving guard. The signal was the tolling of the church-bell ; and at the first summons, the English soldiers, headed by all the chief officers, plunged into the

stream. Their passage was nearly effected before the garrison recovered from their surprise; and when the Irish did open their fire, it was weak, and badly directed. The English pushed forward, and gained the bank before the regiments in Athlone could stand to their arms. In the mean time, Ginckle repaired the broken arch, and poured over an overwhelming force without interruption. In less than half an hour, Athlone was lost irrecoverably; and St Ruth was roused from his slumbers, just in time to learn the irremediable loss occasioned by his presumptuous folly. The garrison retreated to the Irish army, half armed and half clad. The troops had been completely surprised, for the greater part were asleep when the attack was made. The annualists of the time record with surprise, that Ginckle would not allow his soldiers to kill the sleeping men; and some bigots were greatly scandalized at the respect which the General expressed for the officers and soldiers of this gallant garrison. He learned from them, that the Irish suspected James and Louis of an intention to unite Ireland to France, and that they would much rather be connected with England, if their rights were respected. "It is your fault," said they, "that you have so many enemies. We are sensible of our unhappiness in depending on the French; but you have made it necessary for us. We must, and will, and are preparing to fight it out."

His narrow escape from utter ruin, made Ginckle anxious to terminate the war on equitable conditions; and, after infinite difficulty, he obtained a proclamation from the Lords-justices, far different from any they had previously issued. It set forth the greater blessings that Ireland would enjoy under the dominion of England, rather than of France;

it offered a free pardon to all who should surrender within three weeks; security in person and property to all officers and governors of garrisons, with a promise of equal or superior rank under William's government; and a free exercise of religion, with such security as the King and the Irish parliament could devise.

The French laboured strenuously to destroy the effect of this proclamation. They declared, that Louis had determined to make more vigorous exertions in behalf of his Irish allies than he had hitherto done, and that he was preparing to send a powerful fleet and army to their assistance. This was in fact true; but the hope of succour would scarcely have overcome the disinclination of the Irish to unite with the French, had not the efforts of Louis's friends been ably seconded by the Castle-faction in Dublin. The underlings of administration exerted themselves on this, as on countless other occasions, to defeat the wise and beneficent measures of their superiors. The misgovernment of Ireland has scarcely ever been owing to the different English noblemen and statesmen who filled the office of Chief Governor or Chief Secretary. It was owing to the organized faction of their inferiors, who had acquired a thorough knowledge of all the tricks and chicanery of office, from their long monopoly of place and power. On this occasion, their avarice and greedy desire after forfeiture, was further stimulated by their pride. They were, for the most part, men of mean birth and obscure parentage, the sons of those who had been elevated to fortune by the strange chances of the Cromwellian war; and they felt that they would be humbled, even in their own eyes, if compelled to sit on the same bench with the genuine aristocracy of Ireland, whether of Norman or native

descent. The representations of this vile faction led the Irish to believe that the Government was insincere in its offers, and they therefore resolved to abide the chances of the field.

After the loss of Athlone, St Ruth retired with his army to the hill of Kilcommenden, in the county of Roscommon, and prepared to decide the fate of Ireland by a pitched battle. The position which he selected was truly formidable ; the left was protected by a small stream running down through abrupt hills, and beyond this lay an extensive morass, through which there was only one narrow road. The passage was commanded by the ruinous castle of Aughrim, and might easily have been made impregnable. St Ruth believed that it was so already. The bog extended in front of the Irish position to the right, where there were some hills opening to more level ground. A little in advance stood the house and grounds of Urachree, which were occupied by a party of horse.

The English army prepared to attack this position on the twelfth of July at noon. The battle commenced on the part of Ginckle by an attempt to force the Pass of Urachree. The Danish horse, to whom the service was intrusted, broke when led to the charge ; two English regiments of dragoons were successively beaten in the same attempt ; and the Earl of Portland, whose regiment next advanced, found that the Irish had left Urachree, and taken a better position behind the stream, which flanked their right wing. Ginckle's mind was shaken by the spirit shown in the defence of this post. He drew off his men, and summoned a council of war. It was at first resolved to delay the battle until the following morning ; but anxiety for the result, and an im-

patience of anxious suspense, induced the leaders to change their resolution. In consequence of this delay, the engagement did not commence until half-past four in the evening, when Ginckle pushed some battalions of infantry over the ground that had been already so well contested. The rivulet was soon crossed ; but the English were forced to sustain a close and heavy fire from the Irish, posted behind hedges that intersected the hill. Between these hedges the Irish had cut lines of communication ; so that when they retired, the English infantry advancing in pursuit were exposed to destructive volleys on both flanks, and forced to give ground in their turn. The manifest intention of the English General to force his right, induced St Ruth to bring up fresh troops from the centre ; and Ginckle seized the opportunity to cross the bog, and attack the front of the Irish position. Four regiments were ordered on this service ; and they waded through the morass with great difficulty. From the enemy they met no opposition, until they had reached the foot of the hill, when the Irish pursued the same plan that had been already successful on the right, firing from behind hedges, and retiring until the English became entangled in the difficult ground, when they suddenly poured in a close and destructive fire. The English recoiled and made a stand at the edge of the bog. The Irish followed up their success by a furious charge. The four regiments were broken and driven across the bog, quite to the muzzles of their cannon. Most of the principal officers remained prisoners. Two other divisions had crossed the bog ; but they maintained their position, and could not be tempted to advance. Completely successful on the right and centre, Saint Ruth, in the fulness

of his joy, exclaimed, “Now will I drive the English to the walls of Dublin!”—a boast which the special interposition of Providence alone prevented him from accomplishing. Ginckle’s last hope depended on the success of Talmash’s cavalry on the left; but that leader had to contend with no ordinary difficulties. The pass by the castle of Aughrim would only admit two horsemen abreast; and it was commanded by a small battery, which, however, was badly served. Just as Saint Ruth was about to charge the divisions that still maintained their ground, his attention was directed to Talmash’s movement on his left. He expressed great admiration of their valour, and regret for their certain destruction. He ordered the cavalry to be brought up to attack them as they emerged from the defile, and rode himself to direct the fire of the battery. Ten minutes more would have completed the ruin of the English army. An attack, however weak, on Talmash’s detachment, must have sealed its ruin. The Irish horse were far more numerous. They had never yet been beaten in any encounter; and now, had they rushed on the English dragoons, making their way through a narrow defile, and broken by the fire of the battery, the event could not have been doubtful. At this critical moment, Saint Ruth fell by a ball from the English cannon beyond the bog. The battery ceased firing—the cavalry halted, waiting for orders—and Talmash, seizing the unlooked-for opportunity, galloped, without interruption, to take a share in the contest at the centre.

It is impossible to discover the circumstances that left the Irish without a commander after the fall of Saint Ruth. Sarsfield was probably not in the field; for his indignation, after the loss of Athlone, led

him into a serious quarrel with the French general. No other leader would venture to undertake the direction, and the consequence, of course, was fatal. The appearance of Talmash so unexpectedly was mistaken by both armies for a token of victory. The Irish, having heard a confused account of some great calamity on the left, believed that wing totally defeated. The English, of course, thought that their General must have obtained some signal advantage, before he could have penetrated so far. The remaining English divisions now forced their way over the moor, and the Irish began to retreat. At first their movements were performed with great regularity ; but, as each troop and battalion now acted independently, their evolutions soon interfered with each other. Cavalry became mingled with infantry ; and, before the evening closed, their retreat was a complete rout. They were pursued with merciless slaughter. Before the death of Saint Ruth, the Irish lost scarcely a man, while the loss of the British had been very severe. The tide of fortune was now turned ; for the Irish were cut down in crowds, without attempting any resistance. The number of the British killed and wounded was over two thousand ; that of the Irish exceeded seven thousand.

Ginckle was not much intoxicated by his victory at Aughrim. He felt that it was nothing better than a lucky escape ; and, from the spirit displayed by the enemy, feared that the termination of the war was still at a distance. Neither were the Irish so greatly dispirited as might have been expected. They felt that victory had been wrested from them by one of those chances which baffle ordinary calculation, and did not yet despair of success in another field.

CHAPTER XV.

The Siege and Treaty of Limerick.

GINCKLE, after his victory at Aughrim, acted with a vigour and promptitude which proved him worthy of success. He sent out detachments to secure the Castle of Trim,* and several other small but im-

* The ruins of Trim Castle form the Frontispiece to the present volume, and, independent of historical association, there are few scenes, even in this land of romance, more strikingly picturesque and beautiful.

Trim, Co. Meath, is situated on the Boyne, about twenty-two miles north-west from Dublin. It was formerly a walled town of considerable strength, but is now chiefly remarkable for some interesting remains of antiquity, and for being the place whence sundry absurd and tyrannical Acts of Parliament were promulgated during the reigns of Henry VI. and Edward IV. Among those enacted during the reign of the former monarch, one required the native Irish to shave the upper lip at least every fortnight, under pain of confiscation of property ; while Act 50 Edward IV. 1466, declares that it shall be lawful for *all manner of men* who may find thieves robbing by night or by day, " or going or coming to rob or steal, having no faithful man of good name and fame, in English apparel, in their company," forthwith to kill such, without even the form of a trial, and to cut off their heads, which heads, on being brought to the portreeve of the town of Trim, were by him to be fixed on a spear, and displayed upon the walls of the Castle !

The early history of Trim Castle has not come down to us. It is supposed to have been erected by William Peppard soon after the first invasion of the English ; but, falling into decay, it was re-built about the beginning of the 13th century. During the expedition of Richard II. to Ireland in 1399, Trim Castle, then considered a place of the greatest strength within the English pale, received as prisoners within its walls the sons of the Dukes of Gloucester and Lancaster, tidings having reached the monarch of those insurrectionary movements of the latter which terminated in the subversion of the house of Anjou, and the elevation of the rival branch to the crown of England. In 1423, Mortimer, Earl of Meath and Ulster, who then occupied Trim Castle, died there of the plague.

For nearly two centuries this place of strength is scarcely mentioned.

portant posts, while he advanced with the main-body of the army against Galway. That he was not intoxicated with success, appears from the favourable conditions which he granted to the several garrisons that he captured. In all cases, he allowed them to proceed to Limerick with their arms and baggage ; and when the garrison of Banaher preferred laying down their arms and returning home, he presented five shillings to each soldier, as an encouragement to persevere in their peaceful intentions. There was but a mere appearance of attack and defence at Galway. O'Donnell, who commanded a body of the irregular Irish, had long since sold himself to the British general. Lord Dillon, the governor of Galway, could not depend upon the garrison. The civic authorities were anxious to avoid the perils of a siege ; and Ginckle was eager to terminate the war on any terms, before the arrival of French auxiliaries would enable his opponents to try once more their fortunes in the

ed ; but, during the troublous reign of Charles I. it again acquires a degree of notice, from the following circumstance :—In 1641, it was taken possession of by the insurgents ; but its fortifications appear to have fallen so much into decay, that the ruinous stone-wall by which it was surrounded, afforded no protection to its occupants. Accordingly, Sir Charles Coote, whose name is so notorious in this eventful period, easily forced a passage, and retook the Castle. During the night, however, he was silently attacked by about 3000 of the enemy. The sentinel sounded the alarm ; and Sir Charles, who, on such expeditions, never went to bed, was instantly on horseback, and, at the head of only seventeen troopers, charged on the assailants. They were instantly thrown into confusion and compelled to fly, ignorant of the numbers by whom they were attacked ; but pursuing them unguardedly in the dark, Sir Charles received a mortal wound, whether from his own followers or the enemy, was never ascertained. He was buried in Dublin—" floods of English tears " saith the chronicler, " accompanying him to the grave."

In 1647 Trim Castle was strongly fortified, and occupied by Colonel Fenwick with a regiment of foot and some troops of horse. It was besieged on the part of the confederates by General Preston, but soon after relieved by Colonel Jones. In 1649, however, Lord Inchiquin succeeded in driving out the Parliamentarians. In 1650 the Royalists held possession of Trim Castle, but were finally compelled to surrender to Cromwell's generals, Hewson, Reynolds, and Sir Theophilus Jones.—*Editor of Constable's Miscellany.*

field. D'Usson, the French commander in Galway, and the English general Talmash, were both opposed to terms of accommodation ; the former, because he hoped that Louis would soon send the promised reinforcements ; the latter, because he had become tainted with the lust of forfeiture, that bane of England's civil and military officers in Ireland. The lovers of peace prevailed. It was agreed that Galway should be surrendered on the conditions of a " general pardon of political offences, the continuation of the civic authorities in their respective offices, security of property and estates, and perfect freedom of religious worship." These terms were strictly observed by Ginckle,—a circumstance that would not be recorded to his honour in any other history, but which must be mentioned here as a singular instance of good faith ; for on every other occasion, William's officers flagrantly and shamelessly violated articles of capitulation.

Ginckle remained some time at Galway, hoping that the Irish at Limerick would open negotiations for terminating the war. He knew that the curse of divided counsels was upon this their last stronghold ; and he chose rather to trust to intrigue, than hazard the dangers of a doubtful siege. The Irish were now divided into two parties ; one anxious to submit if favourable terms could be obtained ; the other relying on the assurances of France, that a fresh supply of men and munitions of war should be sent, by which they might retrieve their former losses. The inexplicable delay of Louis at this important crisis daily weakened the latter party, which would indeed have been unable to subsist, if it had not been supported by the spirit and enterprise of the gallant Sarsfield. During these discussions, Tyr-

connel, who still held the empty title of Lord Lieutenant, died, apparently of a broken heart. He had long survived all his political importance, and was harassed by the muttered reproaches of those who blamed his original inactivity for all the calamities which had overtaken his cause. He was succeeded by three Lords-justices, Fitton, Nagle and Plowden, who were all inclined to submission ; but were determined to make no composition which did not include the general body of the Catholics.

The memory of William's failure at the former siege of Limerick seems to have produced a strong effect on Ginckle's mind. He proceeded with a slowness and caution which almost savoured of timidity. King William and the Lords-justices were now alarmed with the news of the active preparations making in France for the relief of Ireland, and wrote to exhort Ginckle to bring the war to a speedy termination. Notwithstanding these exhortations, it was not until the 25th of August that the English army appeared before the town. At the same time a fleet entered the Shannon, and came as far up the river as it could venture with safety.

The general occupied nearly the same ground which the King had maintained in the former siege ; but, with less judgment, he erected his batteries against the English town, which was impregnable. For several days the cannon and mortars fired heavy and incessant discharges of shot and shells, without producing any decisive effect. The city indeed had been several times set on fire ; but the flames had been easily extinguished, without causing much annoyance to the enemy. The inhabitants and a large portion of the Irish army, especially the cavalry, had encamped on the Clare side of the river, and, as the

town was only invested on three sides, they suffered no inconveniences from the siege. The detached operations on both sides were of little importance. Levison, detached by Ginckle, subdued part of Kerry, Sligo; and some other towns submitted to English generals on the same conditions that had been granted to Galway. On the other hand, the *rapparees* continued to cut off stragglers and intercept the provisions of the English army. Finding that his present batteries were ineffective, Ginckle erected another towards the river near King's Island. After a heavy fire of two or three days a breach appeared; but when preparations were made for storming, it was discovered that the attempt could not be hazarded without risking the destruction of the entire army. The English general was almost reduced to despair; and issued orders for repairing the fortifications of Kilmallock, whither he resolved to retire, and take up his winter quarters. The offers of a traitor named Clifford induced him to postpone his retreat.

From the very beginning of the siege, it was evident that the town could not be taken while the Clare side lay open to the garrison, and enabled them to obtain constant supplies of provision and fresh recruits. Ginckle saw this clearly, but was unable to discover any remedy. The passage of the river was by no means easy, and a few determined men on the opposite bank could easily render it impracticable. The Irish camp contained a numerous and gallant cavalry, which had never yet been defeated. In order to attack them with any hopes of success, a large detachment should be sent over; and if, when they were separated from the rest the army, the garrison should make a sally on the English camp, Ginckle's army must have been irretrievably ruined.

Treachery and surprise were necessary to his success, and luckily he was able to avail himself of both.

The English general issued orders to dismantle his batteries—an operation equally necessary, whether he succeeded or failed in his expedition against Clare : for the guns were badly placed ; and should the siege be continued, an entire change should be made in the disposition of his forces to ensure success. There was a small island in the Shannon separated from the Clare side by a fordable channel, which Ginckle saw was the best place for attempting a passage. It was guarded by General Clifford with four regiments of dragoons ; but this commander had now sold himself to the English, and had promised to resign the pass without opposition, or even exciting alarm. The almost universal tradition of the Irish peasantry is, that Colonel Henry Luttrell, the ancestor of the Carhampton family, was the person who betrayed the passage of the Shannon to Ginckle ; and his name is at this day proverbially used as an epithet for all that is vile and infamous ; but he was at the time imprisoned in Limerick, on the suspicion of some other piece of treachery. Ginckle continued his preparations for raising the siege, and at the same time prepared a number of pontoons for transporting his army to the island. The garrison of Limerick, intoxicated with joy, uttered loud shouts of exultation when they saw the English dismounting their guns. They were persuaded that the siege was about to be raised, an event which they justly regarded as a full compensation for the disastrous battle of Aughrim. On a dark night Ginckle laid his bridge of boats without being discovered. Six hundred grenadiers, with a numerous body of horse and foot, passed over to the island without being dis-

covered, and having formed there, proceeded to ford over to the main land. A picquet and some sentinels of Clifford's detachment, not having shared in their leader's treason, offered some resistance; but not being supported, were easily cut to pieces. Clifford, as had been stipulated, rode off with his troops, and did not even warn the Irish army of the enemy's approach. The cavalry camp was completely surprised. The greater part of the horses were grazing at a distance of about two miles; and all who have ever seen soldiers, must know the awkwardness and insufficiency of dismounted troopers. The inhabitants in the city camp, wholly unused to war, were thrown into a state of frightful confusion. They rushed in crowds over Thomond Bridge, a long, narrow, unsightly edifice, and many were crushed to death by their companions. Had Ginckle pressed forwards the war might have been terminated on that fatal evening; but he dreaded an ambuscade, and feared that the garrison might sally out and attack the camp during his absence. Content, therefore, with his present success, he retired rather precipitately. Nor were the advantages he obtained of slight importance. The greater part of the saddles and accoutrements of the Irish cavalry were taken in the camp; and thus, that part of the enemy's forces which he most dreaded was rendered inefficient.

The conduct of the garrison in not making a sally during Ginckle's absence, has been severely censured; but it can scarcely be blamed if all the circumstances be fairly considered. The passage of the Shannon, and the surprise of the camp, fully proved that there were traitors in their councils, and no one knew how far the conspiracy had extended.

Ginckle, wisely took this opportunity of issuing a

proclamation, offering the Irish very favourable terms of peace, and reprobating the folly of those who would prefer a connection with France to that with Britain. At the same time he secretly intimated to Sarsfield, that King William had become greatly attached to his character, and was willing to purchase his services at almost any price. There is no doubt that Sarsfield would have preferred an able sovereign like William, to such a miserable bigot as James ; but he entertained a chivalrous sense of honour and romantic spirit of loyalty, sufficiently rare in all ages, but at this period unparalleled ; the offer was refused courteously, and the resistance continued. Vacillation now reigned in the English councils. Many were of opinion that the siege should be raised, and Talmash, with difficulty, prevailed on the general to order another attack, with the understanding that it should be the last, if not attended with very decided success.

On the 22d of September, Ginckle again crossed the Shannon with a more numerous detachment than before, and attacked the Irish posted in front of Thomond Bridge. The British were beaten back in the first attempt, and their cavalry thrown into confusion. At the same time, the infantry was exposed to a severe fire from the walls, and from some gravel pits which the Irish had lined with musketeers. The defeat of the assault seemed certain, when the fate of the day was changed by the British grenadiers. With heroism never surpassed, they passed through the fire of the forts, pierced the Irish columns, and fell with all their weight on the party that defended the bridge. This narrow structure was soon heaped with piles of dead above its battlements, forming a new obstacle to the advance of the

British. At length, the French officer who commanded at Thomond gate, ordered the drawbridge to be raised, and thus left the Irish detachment exposed to certain ruin. The greater part leaped into the Shannon, and endeavoured to swim to the city. Some succeeded, but many were drowned. The Irish have always insisted that the drawbridge was raised before it was necessary; and this wanton sacrifice of their friends completed their alienation from their allies. No satisfactory reason has ever been assigned for the garrison of Limerick not having attacked the English camp while Ginckle was engaged on the Clare side of the Shannon. Had they done so, the English army must have been irretrievably ruined; for the regiments left to guard the lines were few, and miserably inefficient. It probably was not thought of until the favourable opportunity was lost. Great as this victory was, it could slightly improve Ginckle's real situation. The Irish had suffered a great loss of men; but the English were far from winning a bloodless triumph; and there was this difference between their losses, the Irish could easily procure fresh recruits, but Ginckle had it not in his power to obtain new reinforcements.

The raising of Thomond drawbridge, however, did more for Ginckle than any victory could effect. It determined the Irish army to seek peace, because the soldiers believed that their brethren had been needlessly sacrificed; and the manifest mismanagement of affairs, ever since the death of St Ruth, had shaken their confidence in their commanders. Though Sarsfield was nominally at the head of the army, he was checked and controlled by the other generals, nor, indeed, does he seem to have acted in this crisis

in a manner worthy of his former fame. He was probably one of those who possess more valour to execute, than skill to contrive. Though he had been the most obstinate supporter of the war-party, he began to waver when he perceived the soldiers disinclined to its continuance. Another cause for changing his sentiments was, probably, the not unfounded suspicion, that James would send a general by the French fleet to supersede him in command. On the twenty-third of September, a reluctant assent to a treaty was wrung from Sarsfield by the other leaders ; and, on the evening of that day, a cessation of arms was granted, to afford an opportunity for settling the terms of the capitulation. A message was instantly despatched to the Lords-justices, and it reached them just in time to prevent the publication of a proclamation, offering the Irish leaders terms of peace, as full and as honourable as they could have expected, after a decisive victory. We do not know the exact terms of this suppressed proclamation ; we do know, that it granted the Catholics all the privileges that they previously enjoyed, and all that they have since demanded. On the first of October, the Lords-justices arrived in the camp ; and, on the third, the articles of the treaty which had been previously prepared by Chief Baron Rice and Sir Theobald Butler, an eminent lawyer of the Irish party, were solemnly signed by the different authorities.

This celebrated treaty provided, that all Roman Catholics should enjoy the exercise of their religion, as in the reign of Charles II. ; and promised, that their Majesties would endeavour to procure them further security in this particular, when a parliament could be convened. It was engaged, that all the

inhabitants of Limerick, and all those in arms for King James in the several counties of Limerick, Clare, Kerry, Cork or Mayo, should enjoy their estates, and pursue their callings and professions freely, as in the reign of Charles II. ; that the Catholic gentry should be allowed the use of arms, and should be required to take no oath but the oath of allegiance. And it was agreed, that all officers and soldiers, unwilling to remain in the country on these conditions, should be conveyed to the Continent at the expense of the government.

Two days after the treaty was signed, the French fleet arrived off the coast, bringing reinforcements and military stores more than sufficient to have turned the tide of victory. It was manifestly the interest of Ginckle to have the treaty ratified before the arrival of the French ; and the Irish negotiators are blamed for having so far played their enemies' game, as to have allowed the ratification to be hurried. They were, however, influenced by a sincere desire for peace. They felt, that if the French landed, the war must be continued ; and they feared, that the effect of victory would be to make their country a province of France.

On the 4th of October, Talmash, at the head of five British regiments, occupied the English town of Limerick ; and, on the following day, the Irish army was paraded on the King's Island, in order that they might choose between the service of England and France. Ginckle and Sarsfield addressed them in different proclamations, the former recommending William, the latter Louis as a master. It was then agreed, that, on the ensuing morning, the army should be again paraded, and marched past a flag which had been fixed at a given point. Those who

those England were to file to the left ; those who preferred France were to march on.

The sun, perhaps, scarcely ever rose on a more interesting spectacle than was exhibited on King's Island, when the morning for the decision of the Irish soldiery arrived. The men paraded at an early hour ; the chaplains said mass, and preached each a sermon at the head of their regiments. The Catholic bishops then went through the lines, blessing the troops as they passed. They were received with military honours, rendered more imposing by the affectionate devotion which the native Irish have ever shown to their prelates. After this ceremony, refreshments were distributed to the troops, and a message sent to Ginckle and the Lords-justices that " all was ready." The Irish army, fifteen thousand strong, received the British cortège with presented arms. The Lords-justices and the Generals rode slowly through their lines, and declared that they had never seen a finer body of men. Adjutant-General Withers then addressed them in an excellent speech, recommending the English service in very forcible terms ; after which the army broke into column, and the word " March " was given.

The walls of the town were covered with citizens ; the neighbouring hills were crowded with the peasantry of Clare and Limerick ; the deputies of three kings stood near the flag ; but, when the decisive word was given, the deepest silence reigned through the vast and varied multitude, and not a sound was heard but the heavy tread of the advancing battalions. The column was headed by the Irish Guards fourteen hundred strong, a regiment that had excited Ginckle's warmest admiration. They marched past the flag, and seven men only ranged themselves on

the side of England. The next two regiments were the Ulster Irish, and they all filed to the left. Their example, however, was not generally followed ; the greater part of the remainder declared in favour of France. A similar scene took place at the cavalry-camp ; and, out of the whole, Ginckle only obtained about one thousand horse and fifteen hundred foot. So little pleased was he with this result, that he was inclined to pick a quarrel with the Irish leaders ; and the treaty would have been broken almost as soon as signed, but for the presence of the French fleet, which forced the English authorities to suppress their resentment.

On the twelfth of October, the Irish cavalry that had chosen the service of France passed through Limerick, on their way to Cork from Clare. This gallant body had been the darling and the pride of the Irish during this eventful war, and their departure was viewed with deep and bitter regret. The citizens assembled to bid them a final farewell ; but their hearts died within them ; a few faint cheers, as faintly answered, spoke the sadness, as well as the depth, of their mutual affection. Tears and blessings accompanied them to the Water-gate ; and when the last file had passed out, a deep groan burst from the citizens of Limerick, who felt that their national hope was now destroyed. The infantry followed in a few days ; but their numbers were greatly thinned by desertion, before they reached the place of embarkation. There are no persons so strongly attached to their native soil as the Irish peasants. Those who have witnessed the administration of justice at the assizes, well know, that transportation is more dreaded than hanging, by the criminals who stand at an Irish bar. It is not wonderful, there-

fore, that many, after the momentary excitement was over, should repent of their determination, and resolve to stay in the land of their affections. The reluctance to embark was greatly increased by the accounts which were received from France of the reception given to the first divisions. Louis was enraged at the termination of a war which employed so large a portion of the forces of his great enemy; and, though his own niggardliness in sending supplies, and the long delay of reinforcements, was the chief cause of the evil, he unjustly vented his resentment on those who had voluntarily chosen his service. No quarters were assigned to the troops; the regiments were broken up, the officers reduced to inferior ranks, and the generals excluded from the court. This disgraceful treatment was not, however, long continued. In a few years, the Irish brigades were deservedly esteemed the most valuable part of the French army.

William, as soon as the treaty had been signed, removed his foreign regiments from the country, but not before they had been guilty of several fresh excesses. A large sum of money was given them, as a compensation for the plunder which they resigned; and they departed amid the joint execrations of Catholics and Protestants. In a few days, the tranquillity of the country was perfectly restored.

CHAPTER XVI.

Consequences of the Treaty of Limerick—The Penal Laws.

THE treaty of Limerick was a kind of national arrangement, in which all parties resigned some of their pretensions, in order to effect a reconciliation ; and, as is usual in such cases, all parties felt dissatisfied. The partisans of James and Louis justly observed, that the town was surrendered without the slightest military necessity, and at a time when, by the delay of a few days, the entire fortune of the war might have been changed. The Irish not included in the capitulation, complained bitterly that their brethren had left them exposed to forfeiture, when, by merely making the demand from Ginckle, all the Irish confiscations would have been abandoned ; and, certainly, the desertion of these brave and unhappy men is an indelible stain on the character of the negotiators at Limerick. But no party denounced the treaty so violently as those who had been the principal gainers by it—the Cromwellians—or, to use their own phrase, “ the Protestant ascendancy.” Their object had been, to crush the Catholics completely, and to seize into their own hands all the wealth, power and property, of Ireland. Their rage at a treaty which secured civil rights to all the Ca-

tholics, and their estates to a considerable portion of that body, was indescribable. They assailed Ginckle's character with the utmost virulence. In vain did he represent to them, that, if the treaty had been delayed, the French fleet would have arrived, and their ruin consummated. They would listen to no reason, and never forgave the man who rescued them from destruction. The intolerant bigotry of this party supplied them with arguments to conceal their avarice. They quoted examples from the Old Testament, as their fathers had done, and madly demanded the extirpation of the idolatrous Papists. It was at this time that an anonymous writer described the "Protestantism of the Irish Ascendancy" in terms not less severe than merited, as consisting of "hatred of Popery, ignorance of Christianity, and a total absence of moral principle." The history of the period on which we are about to enter, will furnish, alas! too many examples of the truth of this definition.

The violent part of the clergy led the way in denouncing the treaty. On the Sunday after the return of the Lords-justices from Meath, they went in state to Christ Church, when Dr Dopping, bishop of Meath, mounted the pulpit, and, after having denounced the articles of Limerick in no very measured terms, argued, that Protestants were not bound to keep faith with Papists. A doctrine so favourable to their avarice and bigotry was eagerly adopted by the zealots of "the ascendancy;" but the Lords-justices were not disposed to countenance such an abominable principle; and, on the following Sunday, Dr Moreton, bishop of Kildare, preached a sermon in reply to Dopping, in which he showed the obligation under which men were to preserve contracts

and keep solemn promises. The King was, a man of honour, and exerted himself, as far as he would be allowed, to preserve the privileges which had been guaranteed to the Catholics. He was an enlightened friend to toleration ; and those who, in modern times, have made his name the pass-word for ferocious bigotry, are the worst libellers of his memory. But William was now in a situation which prevented him from effecting his benevolent intentions. However, he succeeded in preventing any gross infraction of the treaty during his life ; and, for this act of justice and sound policy, he was honoured with the intense hatred of the Irish ascendancy.

The first manifestation of their anger was on the decisions of the “ Court of Claims,” which assembled to determine the qualifications of those who were to be restored to their property by the treaty of Limerick. The court adjudged about one-fifth of the confiscated lands to the original proprietors, and several others were given back their estates by the special favour of the King. The largest forfeiture was that of the Earl of Clancarty ; and it was a doubtful point whether he was not included in the articles. William was anxious to preserve this ancient family ; but Sir Richard Cox, who had already obtained some confiscated lands, procured a declaration from the county of Cork Grand Jury, that the restoration of the Earl of Clancarty would be “ prejudicial to the Protestant interest ;” meaning thereby, that it would be inconvenient to these gentlemen to part with his estates which they had seized. This precious argument was deemed sufficient ; and the extensive estates of this nobleman in Cork, Limerick and Kerry, were fraudulently sold by the

commissioners at Chichester House. At a later period, George II. made a similar effort in favour of the Earl, but was defeated by the Irish House of Commons; and to shut out his hopes for ever they voted, that any lawyer who pleaded in his behalf should be deemed an enemy of his country!

The first Irish parliament held in this reign contained a few Catholic members, principally in the Upper House; but the great majority was composed of the faction of the violent Protestants.* There was but little harmony between the prince and parliament. A very small supply was voted; and this had scarcely been done, when the Commons became involved in a dispute with the King respecting their privileges. Of the certified bills returned from England, according to Poyning's Law, two were Bills of Supply; and these, not having originated in the Commons, were deemed, and indeed really were, unconstitutional. The Cromwellians, though professing the utmost devotion to the claims of the British King and Parliament, have never shown any respect for the mandates of either, when they did not coincide with their own interests and prejudices. Had William allowed them to rob and murder the Catholics, they would have permitted him to raise money by proclamation, if he felt so inclined; but his adherence to the treaty of Limerick kindled in their breasts the flame of constitutional liberty. They

* The English parliament that met nineteen days after the signing of the treaty of Limerick, set the example of flagrantly violating the articles, by passing an act, that "all the members of the Irish legislature should take the oath of supremacy." This Act, though the Catholics submitted to it, was not binding in Ireland, until the 22d year of George III. when it was made part of the constitution of 1782.

rejected one bill, and passed the other, with a clause, stating, that they assented to it only on account of the emergency of the case ; and declaring, that “ it was, and is the undoubted right of the Commons, to originate all money-bills.” Lord Sydney immediately prorogued the parliament, and reprehended them for the little gratitude they had shown to their great deliverer ; but gratitude, in their vocabulary, meant “ a lively sense of future favours ;” and they parted in great indignation.

(A. D. 1693.)—Sydney was soon recalled ; and in his place three Lords-justices appointed—Lord Capel, Sir Cycil Wyche, and Mr Duncomb. The two latter were anxious to maintain the observance of the articles of Limerick ; the latter was an avowed supporter of the “ Protestant ascendancy.” His principles were too much in accordance with the prejudices of the day not to prevail. His colleagues were removed, and the Catholics had soon reason to regret their easy credulity in laying down their arms at Limerick, and trusting to the faith and honour of England. The breaches of the treaty at this time, however, must not be attributed to the government. The supreme power in Ireland has never yet been able to control its inferior officers ; because the faction, from which they were chosen, could be able, under the forms of law, to perpetrate the most illegal acts. If the government wished to check the misconduct of a magistrate, they had no means at their disposal to effect their purpose. The Sheriff returned a Grand Jury of individuals, who, if not guilty of similar oppressions, would gladly have imitated them if they dared. Bills for the grossest atrocities were ignored without scruple. In fact, the oligarchy, formed in an evil hour, had the power of

checking the government, and oppressing the people; and it scrupled not to insult and ill-treat both. The Lords-justices issued a proclamation to restrain the excesses of their own creatures, whom they had intrusted with the local magistracy. It was a useless effort; for the administration was almost of necessity confided to those who were, either by principle or interest, united with the criminals. The Cromwellians, though an uneducated body, possessed more real wisdom than their adversaries are disposed to give them credit for. They watched the proceedings of the English parliament, and became loyalists or patriots, just as opposition or subserviency best suited their interests. The leaders of the English Whigs had used the cause of Irish Protestantism as a popular watchword in their war against the Stuarts; and they could not now venture directly to contradict their former assertions, by acknowledging them to be oppressors, and thus vindicating the resistance of the Catholics.

The century of unmixed calamity and oppression that followed the close of the revolutionary war in Ireland, has often been characterized as the period in which “Ireland had no history.” The phrase is not very intelligible; for surely there was not, during that period, a suspension of the nation’s existence. It would be more correct to say, that, during that century, the records of each succeeding year contained little more than a repetition of tyranny on the part of the governors, and bitter sufferings in those subjected to their sway. The monstrous iniquity of the penal laws, those atrocious enactments which must for ever brand with disgrace the memory of the Protestant legislature of Ireland, were by no means the most grievous infi-

tion on the native Irish. The oppressions of the local magistracy, the tyranny of the inferior officers of government, the heartless cruelty of landlords, and the absolute denial of legal redress to the peasantry, produced evils more extensive and more permanent. Bad laws may be repealed; but a systematic perversions of justice has a tendency to perpetuate itself. Habit combines with interest and party spirit; the most uncorrupt almost unconsciously adopts the practices of those by whom he is surrounded; and should he attempt to resist, he finds himself alone against a host. On the other hand, it is difficult to inspire confidence in law into the bosoms of those who have long known the law only as the engine of their oppression. The fact, that there was a time when justice was denied to the Irish Catholics, is indisputable. The feeling, that the time has not yet quite gone past, cannot be eradicated, until many years of stern and strict impartiality have elapsed.

It would be unjust to make the English government responsible for the oppressions of the local magistracy; and it would be still more unfair to charge any part of their guilt on the English people. The British rulers had scarcely the power of choice. The old nobility and gentry of Ireland had, for the most part, embraced the cause of their rightful sovereign, and were of course unlikely to be trusted with power by a government with which they had been so lately at war. Most of them feeling that such must be the case, and unwilling to remain in their native land stripped of their natural influence, sought an honourable refuge in foreign service. The British government was, therefore, forced to intrust the local administration to the new

aristocracy—men whose only connection with the land they ruled was inveterate hostility to its inhabitants, full of that spurious pride, compounded of ignorance and conceit, which characterizes upstarts; and with just such a remnant of the enthusiasm of their fathers, the Levellers, as made them bitter persecutors, without being sincere believers. The English people always regard their constitution with just pride; and they thought that the blessings of good government must be secured to every country in which it was established. They did not reflect, that the mere forms of the constitution may be preserved, and yet more cruel despotism exist than Rome witnessed in the days of Nero. The mistake was very natural; but it was, at the same time, as gross a mistake as was ever made by a nation.

... A great deal of the crimes and enormities justly charged on the party of "the ascendancy," must be attributed to the circumstances of their situation. They constituted an aristocracy formed by an unprecedented succession of accidents, and resting for security entirely on external aid. They knew that they were neither loved nor respected, and they naturally desired to make themselves feared. They felt also that they were despised for the meanness of their origin by the ancient Irish gentry; and they, of course, exerted themselves to weaken the influence of persons whose nobility eclipsed their own humble claims. With singular impudence, they denounced all Irish names as *vulgar*; and the sons of Cromwell's fanatical soldiery, the meanest and worst part of the parliamentary army, affected to look down on the O's and Macs, descended from kings, and "over the ashes of whose ancestors minsters had been builded." The restrictions placed by England

on the trade and commerce of Ireland, perpetuated the ignorance and fanaticism of "the ascendancy;" the love of excitement, so natural to the human mind, shut out from the healthful indulgence afforded by commercial speculation, sought for gratification in enthusiasm and extravagance. When an Irish House of Commons had nothing else to do, it naturally sought for employment in devising laws to prevent the growth of Popery.

But though, in their conduct towards the native Irish, the Cromwellian aristocracy was systematically cruel and unjust, we are not to conclude that they were men wholly destitute of virtue. There are few who do not echo the praise bestowed on the heroism of the Spartans, and yet they treated the helots more barbarously than the slaves of any other nation of antiquity. The Spanish conquerors of Peru murdered the Indians without mercy, and scrupled not to unite perfidy with murder in their conduct to the hapless natives of America; yet were they full of the high sentiments of Castilian honour. The slave-owners, in the very worst of the West-India islands, are remarkable for commercial probity; and in the same way, the Cromwellians acted honourably and uprightly to all but Irish Papists, but inserted a clause of exception respecting them in every one of the commandments.

Lord Capel summoned a second Irish parliament in 1695; but, instead of recommending a confirmation of the treaty of Limerick, the speech at the opening of the session declared, that "the King was intent upon a firm settlement of Ireland upon a *Protestant interest.*" The parliament at once laid aside the constitutional jealousies displayed by its predecessor, and eagerly embarked in the scheme

of establishing a Protestant interest. They appointed a committee to consider what penal laws were already in force against the Catholics, not for the purpose of repealing them, as had been promised by the treaty of Limerick, but in order to add to their number. The principal penal laws then in existence were as follows :—

1. An act, subjecting all who upheld the jurisdiction of the See of Rome, to the penalties of a *premunire*; and ordering the oath of supremacy to be a qualification for office of every kind, for holy orders, and for a degree in the University.

2. An act for the uniformity of Common Prayer, imposing a fine of a shilling on all who should absent themselves from places of worship of the established church on Sundays.

3. An act, allowing the Chancellor to name a guardian to the child of a Catholic.

4. An act to prevent Catholics from becoming private tutors in families, without license from the ordinaries of their several parishes, and taking the oath of supremacy.

To these the Irish parliament added, 1. An act to deprive Catholics of the means of educating their children at home or abroad, and to render them incapable of being guardians of their own or any other person's children; 2. An act to disarm the Catholics; and, 3. Another to banish all the Catholic priests and prelates. Having thus flagrantly violated the treaty, they gravely brought in a bill "to confirm the Articles of Limerick." Never was any Legislature guilty of such an atrocious breach of public faith, as was committed by the Irish parliament in this instance. The very title of the bill contains evidence of its injustice. It is styled, "A

Bill for the Confirmation of Articles (not the articles) made at the surrender of Limerick." And the preamble shows, that the little word *the* was not accidentally omitted. It runs thus:—"That the said articles, or so much of them as may consist with the safety and welfare of your Majesty's subjects in these kingdoms, may be confirmed," &c. The parts that appeared to these legislators inconsistent with "the safety and welfare of his Majesty's subjects," were the first article, which provided for the security of the Catholics from all disturbances on account of their religion; those parts of the second article which confirmed the Catholic gentry of Limerick, Clare, Cork, Kerry and Mayo, in the possession of their estates, and allowed all Catholics to exercise their trades and professions without obstruction; the fourth article, which extended the benefit of the peace to certain Irish officers then abroad; the seventh article, which allowed the Catholic gentry to ride armed; the ninth article, which provides that the oath of allegiance shall be the only oath required from Catholics; and one or two others, of minor importance. All of these are omitted in the bill for "The Confirmation of Articles made at the surrender of Limerick."

The Commons passed the bill without much difficulty. They had but little character to lose, and as visions of confiscations floated before their imaginations, they could not discern the value of that little. The House of Lords, however, contained some few of the ancient nobility, and some prelates, who like Moreton, refused to acknowledge the dogma, "that no faith should be kept with Papists," as an article of their creed. The bill was strenuously resisted, and when it was at length carried, a protest signed by thirteen

peers, of whom six were bishops, was entered on the journals.* This atrocious violation of national faith was soon after followed by three new penal laws ; 1st, An act to prevent Protestants from marrying with Papists ; 2d, An act to prevent Papists from being solicitors ; and 3d, An act to prohibit their being employed as gamekeepers !

* This interesting document appears not to have been noticed by the Irish historians ; we have therefore inserted it entire.

" We, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, whose names are hereafter subscribed, do dissent from the aforesaid vote, and enter our protest against the same, for the reasons following : 1st, Because we think that the title of the bill doth not agree with the body thereof, the title being, " An Act for the Confirmation of Articles made at the surrender of Limerick ; " whereas no one of the articles is therein, as we conceive, fully confirmed. 2dly, Because the said articles were to be confirmed in favour of them to whom they were granted ; but the confirmation of them by the bill is such, that it puts them in a worse condition than they were before, as we conceive. 3dly, Because the bill omits these material words, " and such as are under their protection in the said counties ; " which are, by his Majesty's letters-patent, declared to be part of the second article ; and several persons have been adjudged within the second article accordingly, who will, if this bill passeth into a law, be entirely barred and excluded from any benefit of the said second article, by virtue of the afore-mentioned words ; so that the words omitted being so very material, and confirmed by his Majesty after a solemn debate in council, as we are informed, some express reason, as we conceive, ought to have been assigned in the bill, in order to satisfy the world as to that omission. 4thly, Because several words are inserted in the bill, which are not in the articles, and others omitted which alter the sense and meaning of some part of the articles, as we conceive. 5thly, Because we conceive that many Protestants may, and will suffer by this bill, in their just rights and pretensions, by reason of their having purchased and lent money upon the credit of the said articles, and, as we conceive, in several other respects." — *Journals, House of Lords of Ireland, September 21st, 1697.*

Though but a small part of the blame of these iniquitous laws can fairly be ascribed to King William and the Parliament of England, there were some other events in that reign, which showed that the English were little scrupulous in committing acts of national injustice. The spirit of commercial jealousy, which has done more injury to the commerce of England than all other causes united, induced the British Parliament to present a joint address to the King, praying that he would discourage the woollen manufacture of Ireland ! The royal reply deserves to be recorded.

“ MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

“ I shall do all that in me lies to discourage the woollen manufacture of Ireland, and to encourage the linen manufacture there ; and to promote the trade of England.” July 2, 1698.

The promise of encouraging the linen manufacture was not kept. Every attempt to establish it in the south of Ireland failed, principally, it must be added, because the avarice of the clergy prevented the establishment of an equitable *modus* for the tithe of flax. *

About the same time, Mr William Molyneux, member for the Dublin University, celebrated as the friend of Locke, published a book asserting the in-

* As a further example of England’s spirit of commercial jealousy, we may mention a petition presented to the British House of Commons in this reign, from Folkstone in Kent and Aldborough in Suffolk, complaining, “ that the Irish of Waterford and Wexford by catching herrings and sending them to the Streights, were forestalling and ruining the markets of the petitioners.” This petition was ordered to be taken into serious consideration by the Solons of that day ; but what was the result is not known.

dependence of the Irish legislature. The English House of Commons was thrown into a paroxysm of rage. They resolved unanimously, "that the book published by Mr Molyneux was of dangerous tendency to the crown and people of England, by denying the authority of the King and Parliament of England to bind the kingdom and people of Ireland, and the subordination and independence that Ireland had, and ought to have, upon England, as being united and annexed to the imperial crown of England." They also, in a body, presented an address to his Majesty, beseeching him, "that the laws directing and restraining the Irish Parliament should not be evaded ;" and obtained from the King a promise of compliance. Finally, they ordered the obnoxious book to be burned by the common hangman. If any thing could add to the disgrace of William's Irish Parliament, it would be their tame submission to this flagrant and wanton result ; but a legislature, already dishonoured by perfidy, injustice and tyranny, dared not to make any efforts for its own vindication. They were prepared to submit to any treatment, provided that they were permitted to retain their ascendancy over the unfortunate Catholics.

Small as the confiscations made by William were, they formed the ground of a serious quarrel between him and his Parliament. The King having made seventy-six grants of the forfeited estates to his most faithful servants, those who were disappointed of their share of plunder, clamoured loudly against this exertion of the prerogative. A bill for the resumption of these grants passed the Lower House with little difficulty, but encountered a severe opposition in the Lords. It was, however, finally carried, and

William could not refrain from expressing his dissatisfaction when he gave it the royal assent. The forfeited lands were placed for sale in the hands of trustees, whose proceedings were marked by the most scandalous oppression and venality ; but the English Parliament rejected all petitions against their conduct, and declared that all the accusations were false and malicious. This ingenious mode of argument, in which sentence is given on the conclusion, after refusing all consideration of the premises, has been frequently practised by the English and Irish Parliaments when legislating for Ireland. The forfeited lands were valued at fifteen hundred thousand pounds : in the hands of the trustees, they produced little more than a third of that sum.

CHAPTER XVIII.

The Penal Laws.

A. D. 1701.—DURING the reign of Anne, England attained to greater prosperity and influence than she had acquired since the reign of Cromwell; but Ireland, by the ferocious acts of her own legislature, was reduced to a state of wretchedness, almost unexampled in the annals of tyranny and suffering. While William was alive, his well known wish to prevent further infringements of the treaty of Limerick, prevented the faction of the ascendancy from adding to those iniquitous acts, by which they showed their malignant hatred of their fellow-subjects, and at the same time their fears, that some new crisis might wrest from them the lands purchased by such a long course of guilt and fraud. The first bill, “to prevent the growth of Popery,” was introduced in the session of 1703. The following are among the most remarkable of its enactments:—The third clause provides, that if the son of an estates Papist, shall conform to the established religion, the father shall be incapacitated from selling or mortgaging his estate, or disposing of any portion of it by will. The fourth clause prohibits a Papist from being the guardian of his own child; and orders, that if at any time the

child, though ever so young, pretends to be a Protestant, it shall be taken from its own father, and placed under the guardianship of the nearest Protestant relation. The sixth clause renders Papists incapable of purchasing any manors, tenements, hereditaments, or any rents or profits arising out of the same, or of holding any lease of lives, or other lease whatever, for any term exceeding thirty-one years. And with respect even to such limited leases, it further enacts, that if a Papist should hold a farm producing a profit greater than one-third of the amount of the rent, his right to such should immediately cease, and pass over entirely to the first Protestant who should discover the rate of profit. The seventh clause prohibits Papists from succeeding to the properties or estates of their Protestant relations. By the tenth clause, the estate of a Papist, not having a Protestant heir, is ordered to be gavelled, or divided, in equal shares between all his children. The sixteenth and twenty-fourth clauses impose the oath of abjuration, and the sacramental test, as a qualification for office, and for voting at elections. The twenty-third clause deprives the Catholics of Limerick and Galway of the protection secured to them by the articles of the treaty. The twenty-fifth clause vests in her Majesty all advowsons possessed by Papists."

It would be a mere waste of words to reprobate this iniquitous law, or rather this violation of all law human and divine. No Irish Protestant can peruse its enactments without a blush for the shame thus brought on his religion, when it was thus virtually declared that the reformed system should owe its strength and security, not to the purity of its principles, not to excellence of its doctrines, but to robbery and op-

pression, to dissension between father and child, to stimulating one neighbour to seize the fruits of another's industry, to the desecration of a solemn sacrament, by making it a test for office. How can we be surprised that the reformed religion is unpopular in Ireland, when, by this and similar laws, a Protestant legislature virtually declared, that Protestantism could not be secure unless it entered into alliance with Belial, Mammon, and Moloch?

When this atrocious bill was introduced, the Catholics asked leave to be heard by counsel at the bar of the House against it, and obtained permission. Sir Theobald Butler, Mr Malone, and Rice, who had been Chief Baron, appeared, and made an argumentative, rather than an eloquent appeal to the justice and honour of their hearers. Butler showed how gross was this attempt to violate the articles of Limerick. The meritorious conduct of the Catholics since the period of their submission, he insisted, ought to save them from such bitter penalties. He pointed out how infamous was the attempt to destroy all confidence between parents and children; and he severely censured the exclusion of Protestant dissenters from office, by the imposition of the sacramental test. His arguments, as he seems himself to have anticipated, were unheeded. The bill was sent to the Duke of Ormond, then Lord Lieutenant, who declared, on receiving it, "that he would recommend it in the most effectual manner, and do every thing in his power to prevent the growth of Popery;"—a promise which he very faithfully performed.

By a strange concatenation of events, this law proved penal to Protestants as well as Papists. The English ministers were at this time engaged in a ne-

gociation with the Emperor of Germany, for obtaining from him a full toleration of Protestantism in his dominions ; and were by no means willing to put it in his power to retort, that he treated Protestants far better than they did Catholics. They laboured, therefore, to dissuade the Irish Parliament from urging the measure ; but their efforts were vain. The faction of the ascendancy was not to be deterred from persecution by a regard for foreign Protestants, because their war was not against the religion, but the property of the Catholics. The Whig ministry of England was now caught by its own devices. They had excited and maintained a popular clamour against Popery for several years, in order to strengthen their influence ; and now, it was to be feared, that, if they acted justly, they would themselves be driven from their posts as friends of Papists. They knew, however, that the Irish Parliament was composed chiefly of dissenters, and therefore inserted the clause imposing the sacramental test, hoping that this would cause the rejection of the entire measure. But the English ministers had formed too high an estimate of the consciences of the Irish faction. They sanctioned the clause almost without debate ; and, to use the phrase of one of their own writers, “ swallowed their scruples and the sacrament together.”

Human nature revolted against this cruel law. There were many magistrates who refused to exert themselves in its execution ; and public feeling branded, as the worst of informers, those who became discoverers in order to rob their neighbours. The Irish Commons had therefore recourse to publishing resolutions, almost every session, blaming supine magistrates, and praising informers. On the

17th of March 1705, they voted, "that all magistrates, and other persons whatsoever, who neglected or omitted to put the penal laws into due execution, were betrayers of the liberties of the kingdom." In June of the same year, they denounced such persons as "enemies to her Majesty's government." And they also resolved, "that the prosecuting and informing against Papists, was an honourable service to the government."

But even these laws were not deemed sufficient; and in 1709, an act, imposing additional severities, was passed, almost without opposition. The first clause declares, that no Papist shall be capable of holding an annuity for life. The third provides, that the child of a Papist, on conforming, shall at once receive an annuity from his father; and that the Chancellor shall compel the father to discover, upon oath, the full value of his estate real and personal, and thereupon make an order for the support of such conforming child or children, and for securing such a share of the property, after the father's death, as the court shall think fit. The fourteenth and fifteenth clauses secure jointures to Popish wives who shall conform. The sixteenth prohibits a Papist from teaching, even as assistant to a Protestant master. The eighteenth gives a salary of L.30 per annum to Popish priests who shall conform. The twentieth provides rewards for the discovery of Popish prelates, priests, and teachers, according to the following whimsical scale.

For discovering an archbishop, bishop, vicar-general, or other person, exer- cising any foreign ecclesiastical juris- diction	L.50
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For discovering each regular clergyman, and each secular clergyman, not re- gistered	L.20	0	0
For discovering each Popish schoolmas- ter or usher	10	0	0

The twenty-first clause empowers two justices to summon before them any Papist over eighteen years of age, and interrogate him when and where he last heard mass said, and the names of the persons present, and likewise touching the residence of any Popish priest or schoolmaster; and if he refuse to give testimony, subjects him to a fine of L.20, or imprisonment for twelve months.

Several other penal laws were enacted at the same time, of which we can only notice one; it excludes Catholics from the office of sheriff, and from grand juries, and enacts, that, in trials upon any statute for strengthening the Protestant interest, the plaintiff might challenge a juror for being a Papist, which challenge the judge was to allow. The effect of this law was to make the administration of justice more than suspected of partiality, and almost to justify the bitter sarcasms that English travellers have so frequently uttered against the decisions of Irish juries. Neither have the baneful effects of this exclusive system as yet wholly disappeared.

The design of the Protestant legislators appears to have been, to drive all the Catholics out of the country; and, so far as the gentry were concerned, they succeeded tolerably well. The example of the parliament was zealously imitated by the Irish corporations—bodies that will not bear an adequate description; they enacted by-laws excluding the Catholics from all profitable branches of trade, and, in

many instances, from residence within the walls of the town. The consequence was, that the mercantile Catholics transferred their wealth and intelligence to foreign countries, where they founded commercial houses, which, even at this day, retain their high character and prosperity.

The sufferings of the Catholics were greatly aggravated by the zeal of the underlings of administration—ever ready, in Ireland, to manifest a zeal beyond the law. In the year 1708, there was a report that the young Pretender intended to invade Scotland ; and, immediately, forty-one of the Catholic nobility and gentry were arrested, and placed in close confinement. The government, however, had the grace to be ashamed of this arbitrary proceeding, and ordered the prisoners to be liberated, without payment of fees. A more ludicrous instance of Protestant timidity was exhibited, by the House of Commons resolving, that the pilgrimages of the sick and infirm to St John's Well, in the county of Meath, “ were inconsistent with the safety of the kingdom ! ”

The factions that divided the English parliament through the entire of Queen Anne’s reign, extended their influence to Ireland ; and the parties of Whig and Tory, High Church and Low Church, assailed each other with unmeasured violence. They agreed only in one point—the necessity of persecuting the Papists. The clergymen of the Established church, and the majority of the Lords, were Tories ; the Whigs were superior in the Lower House. There were some collisions, consequently, between the two branches of the legislature ; but as they involved no important principle, they may be permitted to rest in unhonoured oblivion. One display of party zeal

was truly ludicrous. The pass-word and signal of the faction of the ascendancy was, in that age, as well as the present, the toast of “The pious, glorious, and immortal memory of the great and good King William, who freed us from Popery, slavery, brass money, and wooden shoes!” to which is usually added a tail of execrations on all who refuse to join in the pledge. Browne, Bishop of Cork, thought fit to preach a sermon against this piece of absurdity, and consummated his folly by printing it. The Whigs denounced the Bishop as an impugner of the Revolution, and added to the obnoxious toast a clause, expressing contempt for the Bishop in no very delicate terms; and this clause is frequently given as part of the toast at the present hour.

Though the Irish parliament submitted to insult in the case of Molyneux, it showed, on one or two occasions, a spirit of resistance against the usurpations of the English legislature. The Lords entered into a resolution denouncing those who appealed against their jurisdiction; and the Commons rejected a money-bill, because it had been altered by the English privy council. A more flagrant case was an act of the English parliament to prevent the growth of schism, aimed principally against the Presbyterians, which was made to include Ireland; for the ministry knew that such a bill would not pass the Irish House of Commons, where the dissenters had a great majority.

A. D. 1714.—The accession of George I. gave the Whigs ascendancy in Ireland, but produced little or no change in the general circumstances of the nation. There was no attempt to raise an insurrection in favour of the Pretender, when the rebellion broke out in Scotland and the north of England.

The Irish Catholics, even though disposed to favour the House of Stuart, had no longer any leaders; but they had been, long before this time, cured of their attachment to that despicable family. In fact, they had learned that, in the negotiations which James had carried on with the leaders of the Whigs in England, he had intimated his readiness to make no exertions in behalf of his Irish adherents. The attainder of the Duke of Ormond, for his adherence to the cause of the Pretender, had in it something of retributive justice. He had eagerly supported the penal laws; and now he was to suffer forfeiture from the parliament, to whose bad passions he had pandered, for his attachment to the cause of a Catholic sovereign.

In consequence of the Irish House of Lords having resisted the right of appeal to the House of Lords in England, the English parliament thought fit to pass "an act for the better securing the dependency of Ireland on the crown of England," which reduced the Irish legislature to a mere idle mockery. It deprived the Irish House of Lords of their jurisdiction in cases of appeal; and it declares, that the British parliament "has full power and authority to make laws and statutes, of sufficient force and validity, to bind the people of the kingdom of Ireland."

The English parliament having thus kindly relieved the legislature in the sister island from a great portion of its labours, the Irish parliament devoted its leisure to the preparation of new laws against Popery. Several new acts were introduced and passed, inflicting further penalties and disqualifications on the Catholics, one of which is still in force, viz. that which excludes Papists from voting at any vestry held for

the purpose of levying or assessing money for re-building or repairing parish-churches.

These laws were executed in the same sanguinary and intolerant spirit that had originally dictated their enactment. Priest-hunting became a fashionable amusement. Catholic chapels were forcibly shut up. The Catholic clergy sent into prison, and from thence hurried into exile. But one bill, which was passed by both of the Irish Houses of Parliament, is quite sufficient to show how violent and shameless was the Protestant bigotry of this disgraceful period. It actually contained a clause—how can it be mentioned without offence to delicacy?—a clause for subjecting every Catholic ecclesiastic who should come to Ireland to the penalty of castration! On presenting this bill to the Lord Lieutenant, both Houses added the remarkable request, “That he would recommend the same in the most effectual manner to his Majesty;” and his Excellency promised compliance. Sir Robert Walpole, being solicited by Cardinal Fleury, successfully exerted himself to prevent even an Irish statute-book from being sullied by such disgusting brutality; and the bill was scouted by the English privy council. The Lord Lieutenant, in closing the session, attempted to console the Parliament for the loss of their favourite bill. He told them that “it miscarried, merely by not being brought into the House before the session was so far advanced.” He exhorts them, in their several stations, to exert themselves in maintaining the public peace, which, he says, “would be greatly promoted, by the vigorous execution of the laws against Popish priests; and that he would contribute his part towards the prevention of that growing evil, by giving proper directions, that such persons only should be

put into the commission of the peace, as had distinguished themselves by their steady adherence to the Protestant interest."

The celebrated Dean Swift had a principal share in uniting, for a brief space, both Catholics and Protestants in fierce opposition to the government. His Drapier's Letters on the subject of a patent, granted to one Wood, for coining copper money for the use of Ireland, joined all ranks and parties in a formidable coalition, to which the administration was forced to yield; and the patent was revoked. Swift was actuated on the occasion purely by factious motives. He was one of the numerous class whom disappointed ambition has converted into patriots; but unquestionably he effected great good, not by upsetting Wood's patent, which was really beneficial to the country, but by giving the Irish an example of turning from party politics to a national object. This is the only claim his shade had to be invoked with that of Molyneux, when Grattan, in 1782, for the first time addressed his countrymen as "a free people."

A. D. 1727.—On the accession of George II., the Catholic nobility and gentry, with the principal part of the clergy, prepared a congratulatory address, which they presented to the Lord Lieutenant for transmission. This document, however, was suppressed, because it was deemed inconsistent with law to acknowledge that there were any Papists in existence. The claim of the Catholics to legal existence was particularly offensive to Boulter, the primate, who, in the early part of this reign, ruled the destinies of Ireland, and whose crosier was found to be a sceptre of iron. He had been greatly alarmed by the union of parties, occasioned by the affair of

Wood's halfpence, and by a gradually increasing cordiality between the Protestants and the Catholics. This he attributed to the small share of the elective franchise still retained by the latter ; and of this he resolved that they should be deprived. A bill, prohibiting Papists from voting at elections, was passed with little opposition ; and thus, at one stroke, five-sixths of the population were disfranchised. Several additions were made about the same time to the penal code. Of these the following are the most remarkable enactments. The Catholics were excluded from acting as barristers, six-clerks, solicitors, &c. Barristers or solicitors marrying Papists are subjected to all the penalties and disqualifications of Papists. No convert can act as a justice of peace, whose wife or children continue Papists. Persons robbed by privateers, during war with a Popish prince, shall be reimbursed by Grand Jury presentment ; and the money be levied upon the goods and lands of Popish inhabitants only !

A. D. 1731.—During the administration of the Duke of Dorset, the Patriots, as the opposition party in the House of Commons was named, became a powerful body. The government, anxious to escape from the control of the Irish parliament, attempted to obtain a grant of the supplies for twenty-one years ; but the courtiers were outvoted by a majority of one. The gentleman who gave the casting vote was Mr C. Tottenham of New Ross, who had come up from the country for the purpose. He arrived so late that he had no time to change his dress ; and he hurried to the House in his travelling costume. This was considered a remarkable breach of etiquette ; and, in allusion to it, “ Tottenham in boots ! ” became a popular toast.

Though the Irish parliament showed a laudable zeal to support the church by penal laws, they were by no means unwilling to rob it on a favourable opportunity. They passed several resolutions against all who should demand the tithe of agistment ; and thus threw the burden of supporting the Protestant ministers from the Protestant landholders on the Catholic peasants.

The Duke of Devonshire's administration was remarkable, chiefly for the princely magnificence and liberality exhibited by his Grace. He expended his own private property on works of public utility ; and a wharf, which he erected in the city of Dublin, still bears his name.

A. D. 1745.—The dread of invasion induced the English ministry to intrust the government of Ireland to the Earl of Chesterfield, who had been long in opposition to the court. By adopting conciliatory measures, he preserved Ireland perfectly tranquil during the Scottish rebellion. He extended the full protection of the laws to the Catholics, and discouraged those rumours of pretended plots, which, during all ages, have been so rife in Ireland. “ All Connaught is rising,” cried a zealous loyalist, rushing into his Lordship’s bed-room, in a paroxysm of affected terror. “ It is past nine o’clock, and time for us all to rise,” coolly replied Chesterfield, looking at his watch. It is painful, however, to add, that two atrocious penal laws were enacted during his government ; the first, annulling all marriages between Protestants and Papists, or that were celebrated by Popish priests ; the second, ordering that every Popish priest who married two Protestants, or a Protestant and Papist, should be hanged.

A. D. 1747.—After the departure of Chester-

field, Stone the primate became the head of the Irish government. This profligate prelate scrupled not to employ the most detestable means to effect his political designs. His great object was to make government independent of the factious oligarchy that wielded the destinies of Ireland. To procure partisans in Parliament, he is said to have gratified the sensual desires of the young members with the most unlimited indulgence. His residence became in fact a tavern and a brothel. The oligarchy, determined to preserve its power over the crown and the people, under the mask of patriotism encountered him with great virulence. His vices were exposed in several severe satires ; and in allusion to one crime, which will not bear explanation, the toast, " May the importation of *Ganymedes* be discontinued in Ireland ! " was given at every popular meeting in Dublin. The injury done by such a prelate to the cause of the Protestant religion requires no comment. It is however remarkable, that in none of the attacks made on him, do we find any allusion to the effects of his scandalous life on the religious feelings of the people.

The appeals of the opposition to the nation awakened the attention of the people to political subjects, and soon called into the field an obscure individual, who quickly outstripped the tardy march of the aristocratic patriots. Charles Lucas, an apothecary, having become a member of the common council of the city of Dublin, commenced a vigorous attack on the usurpations of the Board of Aldermen. His views expanded as he went on ; and he published several tracts on the rights of the people, and the claims of Ireland to legislative independence. The oligarchy became alarmed : they had struggled for

their own power : but now there was reason to fear that the nation would reap the benefit of their exertions : they therefore joined the government to crush Lucas as a common enemy. In the October of 1749, the House of Commons resolved, "that Charles Lucas was an enemy to his country," and presented an address to the Viceroy, requesting "that Lucas should be prosecuted by the Attorney-General, and a reward offered for his apprehension." Lucas, unable to resist such a storm, went into temporary exile ; but on his return, after a lapse of some years, he was elected to represent his fellow-citizens in parliament.

The issue of the struggle between the government and the party of the oligarchy denominated Patriots, sufficiently shows that the latter contended for their own private interests, and not for any national advantage. When a bill had been introduced for applying the surplus revenue to the discharge of the national debt, the Duke of Dorset, then Viceroy, declared, that his Majesty would *consent* to the arrangement, and a clause expressing his consent was added to the bill in the English council. On the first occasion the alteration was not resisted ; but when a second bill was sent back, with the obnoxious *consent* added, it was rejected by the Irish parliament. The dispute on this occasion was long and violent ; but finally, the greater part of the money was withdrawn from the kingdom by virtue of a king's letter. The public indignation against the government was alarming. Stone, however, persuaded the Viceroy to persevere, and charged the opposition with being enemies to the King's government. James, Earl of Kildare, to counteract this insidious insinuation, presented a bold memorial to the King,

declaring the loyalty of himself and his associates, and condemning the conduct of Stone and Dorset in no very measured terms. Ultimately, Dorset was removed from the government. He was forced to escape from Dublin under the escort of his guards, and a hired mob, which one of his official underlings had collected and supplied with drink.

. A. D. 1755.—The Duke of Devonshire being appointed Viceroy, took the patriots into favour, and found that, when gratified by place and pension, they were willing to be the most devoted servants of government. The oligarchy had discovered that the existence of a surplus revenue made the crown inconveniently independent, and therefore resolved that there should be no surplus revenue for the future. They made large grants of money ostensibly for public works, but in reality for private jobs—jobs so flagrant, that the most corrupt would have felt ashamed, only that such a feeling as shame was unknown to the Irish parliament. The popular voice denounced the former patriots, and they were universally named “the Scrambling Committee.”

In the autumn of 1759, during the administration of the Duke of Bedford, a small French force, under the command of Thurot, escaped from Dunkirk, and, after many misadventures, arrived at Carrickfergus in the beginning of the following year. As the fortifications were in ruins, the town was taken after an obstinate defence.* But Thurot not receiving any reinforcement, and learning that the people in

* During the conflict in the streets of Carrickfergus, a French soldier observing a child who had run playfully into the streets, amid the fire of the contending parties, grounded his musket, carried the infant to a place of safety, and, returning to his comrades, resumed the combat.

the neighbouring towns had taken up arms for his destruction, retired. He was overtaken in his retreat by a British squadron, and fell in the engagement.

The loyalty shown by the Catholics on this occasion, and the addresses breathing a devoted attachment to the British government sent from various parts of the kingdom, by the leaders of the Catholic body, produced a favourable effect on the minds of the ministers, already disposed to look with favour on this persecuted body, in consequence of an able disclaimer of the obnoxious doctrines imputed to them, which had been previously published. It was seriously contemplated to repeal the most severe of the disqualifying laws, and to unite the legislatures of England and Ireland. The Honourable John Ponsonby, the Speaker of the House of Commons, was among the first of the Irish statesmen who felt sympathy in the wrongs that had been inflicted on his Catholic countrymen ; and, ever since that period, the members of the Ponsonby family have been amongst the most active supporters of civil liberty and religious toleration in Ireland.

The news that such measures were in agitation, produced the most violent commotions among the lower ranks of Protestants in Dublin. In general it will be found, that virulence against those of an opposite creed will be found more fierce in the lower ranks than among the more respectable classes of society ; and experience proves, that, in Ireland, hatred of Popery is more violent the lower we descend in the scale of rank, wealth or intelligence. The fear of a Union was a more justifiable cause of tumult, because it was manifest that the removal or the parliament would greatly injure the trade of the

Dublin shopkeepers. The proceedings of the mob were very characteristic of the humour which distinguishes the Irish. They forced their way into the House of Lords, seated an old woman on the throne, and got up a mock debate on the expediency of introducing pipes and tobacco. They forced the members of both Houses whom they met, to swear that they would never consent to a Union, nor give a vote against the interests of Ireland. They compelled the Chief-Justice of the King's Bench to administer this oath to the Attorney-General, and laughed heartily at the circumstance of having the first law-officer of the crown duly sworn by one of the King's judges. From these ludicrous scenes they proceeded to more violent acts of outrage ; they broke the coaches of some obnoxious individuals, and erected a gibbet for one very obnoxious person, who fortunately escaped from their hands.

The scheme of a Union, if at that time seriously meditated, was frustrated by the death of George II., and the changes made in the administration by his grandson and successor, George III. In the new reign, there were but few penal laws ; and with a brief recital of their principal enactments, we shall close this long, and, to us, painful chapter. In the year 1776, an act was passed permitting magistrates to search the houses of Papists for arms, and to examine on oath those suspected of concealment. By the 17th clause, Papists refusing to deliver up their arms, or concealing them, or refusing to discover on oath, or neglecting to appear when summoned for that purpose, were made liable, on conviction, to fine or imprisonment, or such corporal punishment of pillory, or whipping, at the discretion of the court.

In the year 1782, Papists were excluded from the King's Inns of Court ; and the law of William III., excluding them from parliament, was formally enacted. This latter act attracted little notice at the time, for the Catholics had submitted to William's English act, and were thus practically, though not legally, excluded from the legislature.

CHAPTER XVIII.

The Effects of the Penal Laws.

THE grants of extensive forfeitures to several English proprietors was the first great cause of absenteeism, which is usually reckoned one of the chief causes of misery in Ireland. It is certainly absurd to say that evil has not resulted from this system; but it is just as absurd to suppose, that compulsory residence would be a remedy. The mere fact of the landlord living in Ireland or England, would make little difference, if the Irish still continued to export their raw produce, and import all manufactured articles; for there would be still the same impediment to the accumulation of capital, and the exercise of collective industry. Absenteeism is a part, and by no means the worst part, of a destructive system of land-letting, which arose from the joint operation of forfeitures and the penal laws. A great portion of Irish lands is held on leases of lives, renewable for ever, or on leases of extraordinary duration. These tenures arose from the uncertainty of property. The persons to whom estates were granted, eagerly embraced any offer made to them by persons residing on or near the lands. Many of them were English proprietors, and never intended to visit Ireland.

Others had learned to dread the peasantry, and sought refuge in the towns. Both classes were glad to get a certain rent, however disproportioned, when they considered the uncertainty of their possessions. In consequence of this, a regular subordination of landlords, sometimes six or seven, existed between the proprietor and the actual tiller of the ground. Thus, the non-productive classes were disproportionately increased ; for each of them was, wholly or partly, supported by his profit-rent ; and as the weight of maintaining all fell upon the producers, they derived no advantage from their labours beyond a sufficiency to protract a miserable existence. The numerous class of what was usually called “poor gentlemen,” now fast disappearing, became a greater curse to the country, than absenteeism ever has been, or could be —men whose property ranged from one to five hundred a year, and who chose to live on that sum in idleness, deeming trade, commerce, and honourable industry, a degradation. The support of these gentlemen being derived from some lease, or share in a lease, of course fell upon the peasant, and absorbed all the fruits of his industry. The country, therefore, became, and continued wretched ; because the labourers had to provide for a greatly disproportioned number of consumers.

Forfeitures placed the greater part, indeed almost the whole, of the lands in the hands of the Protestants ; and the penal laws continued them in exclusive possession. Having already described the Cromwellians and their descendants, who constituted the great mass of Irish proprietors, it is needless to show how unfit such men were to be trusted with the destinies of a country. Even if we had not the evidence of an impartial witness, common sense would

lead us to conclude, that these men would, in the ordinary transactions of life, exhibit the same unprincipled tyranny and injustice which their representatives had displayed in parliament. Men who, as legislators, had unscrupulously violated a solemn treaty, and enacted persecuting laws sanctioning robbery and crime, could not have been kind landlords, nor equitable justices of the peace. We are not, however, left to mere reasoning, to discover the general character of the landlords in the middle of the last century. That celebrated agriculturist, Mr Arthur Young, has recorded what he witnessed during his tour in Ireland, with all the indignation which an English gentleman feels at witnessing tyranny and oppression. His picture is not overcharged, as will be readily acknowledged by many who can remember some remnants of the system which he saw, in its full bloom of perfection. He says, "The landlord of an Irish estate, inhabited by Roman Catholics, is a sort of despot, who yields obedience, in whatever concerns the poor, to no law but his will. A long series of oppressions, aided by many very ill-judged laws, have brought landlords into the habit of exerting a very lofty superiority, and their vassals into that of an honest unlimited submission. Speaking a language that is despised—professing a religion that is abhorred—and being disarmed, the poor find themselves slaves in a land of written liberty. *Nay, I have heard anecdotes of the lives of the people being made free with, without any apprehension from the justice of a jury.* The execution of the laws lies very much in the hands of justices of the peace, many of whom are drawn from the most illiberal class in the kingdom. If a poor man lodges a complaint against a gentleman, or any

animal that chooses to call itself a gentleman, and the justice issues out a summons for his appearance, it is a fixed offence, and he will infallibly be *called out*. The peasants know their situation too well to think of it. They can have no defence, but by means of protection from one gentleman against another, who probably protects his vassal as he would the sheep he intends to eat."

The Irish landlords had professed an earnest desire to surround themselves with a Protestant *pantry*; but they soon found that this would be inconsistent with what they deemed their interests. The Protestants would not pay the extravagant rents demanded by the landlords, and were of course rejected. They emigrated in thousands to North America, and furnished the States with a body of determined soldiery, at the moment they were about to commence their contest with Great Britain.

Nor was this the only cause of the disappearance of Protestantism among the lower ranks. The inefficiency, the negligence, and, in many cases, the immorality of the established clergy, were at this unhappy period perfectly scandalous. Their anxiety was to diminish their congregations, and make their parishes perfect sinecures. To the lower ranks of their flocks they were utter strangers, and would have looked upon any attempt to force intercourse as unpardonable impertinence. The great defect in the constitution of the church of England is, that it makes no provision for the instruction of the poor and ignorant. The sublime service, and simple but touching eloquence of the liturgy, loses much of its effect by constant repetition; but when read carelessly, in the style of a school-boy hurrying over a disagreeable task, its efficacy is wholly lost. The ser-

mons are by no means an adequate substitute for the instruction that should be conveyed by personal communication : a well-written essay, in elegant and classical language, read from the pulpit, is really a very inefficient means of conveying religious knowledge to the illiterate and uninstructed. Irish Protestants have frequently boasted, that theirs is the religion of gentlemen—can they forget that such is not the boast of Christianity ? A higher merit than the restoration of sight to the blind, health to the sick, or even life to the dead, was, that “ to the poor the gospel is preached.” The church of Rome, with more wisdom, insists on a personal intercourse between the priest and his flock, by the institution of confession. That this is liable to abuse, nay, that it has frequently been abused, is incontrovertible ; but equally certain is it, that confession has been the source of many and great benefits. The first reformers felt this ; and, in the rubric, required some such intercourse between the minister and the congregation, as a preparation for receiving the sacrament ; but if ever practised in the reformed church, it soon fell into disuse ; and the legal desecration of the sacrament, by making it a political test, rendered the revival of it impossible.

Another cause for the decay of Protestantism, was the want of service in the Irish language. Whether the liturgy, in their own beloved tongue, would have reconciled the Irish to a religion, known to them only as the great source of their national calamities, may perhaps be doubtful ; but the experiment was never tried, and the Irish church could not discern the ludicrous inconsistency of preaching against the church of Rome, for keeping the service of the mass in an unknown tongue, while it itself inflicted penal-

ties on millions, for not attending service in a language almost equally unknown.

Persecution drew still closer the ties that united the priests to the people. Both were cruelly oppressed by the "Protestant ascendancy," and mutual suffering has ever been a source of firm friendship. The poor Protestant felt sensibly the difference between a pastor, who scarcely deigned to recognise his existence, and one who would be his comforter, his adviser, his guide, and his friend. Such a spectacle daily before his eyes, was a more powerful argument than the most laborious treatise on the differences between the churches. Reason might show, that the opinions of the Protestant rector were the better; but reason and feeling united to prove that the conduct of the Catholic priest was more in accordance with the precepts of the gospel, and the conduct of the apostles. So powerful, indeed, was the effect of the contrast, that but for the labours of the Methodists and other dissenters, whose preachers mixed with the people, there would now be scarcely a single Protestant among the lower ranks in Ireland.

But with whatever other negligences the church of Ireland may be charged, carelessness in the exaction of tithes is assuredly not among the number. Thrown, by the law, on the miserable tillers of the soil for support, the majority of the clergy employed a class of men, called Tithe-proctors, to collect their revenues; and never was there a greater scourge inflicted on an unfortunate country. Their exactions, their cruelties, their oppressions, would furnish materials for volumes; and would even then convey but a faint image of the intolerable misery they occasioned. The Irish law of tithe was far more severe than the English—it armed the parson with greater powers—it took

from the farmer every means of defence against illegal overcharges. If the Irish clergy and their protectors had been angels, they must have been corrupted by the system ; but they were not even the best of men ; and they used their tremendous power in its fullest extent. If anything further was required to alienate the hearts of the Irish peasantry from the reformed religion, it was to be found in the exactions of the tithe-mongers ; for how could the cottier love, or even respect, pastors who seized the fruits of his industry, and snatched the last morsel from the mouths of his starving family ?

The oppressions of the landlords and the tithe-mongers produced their natural effect. The peasants, driven to despair, broke out in agrarian insurrections, which soon became formidable. The Protestant labourers of the north took the title “Hearts of Oak ;” those of the south, from wearing their shirts outside their clothes, were denominated “Whiteboys.” They committed the most alarming outrages, and inflicted the most revolting cruelties, on all whom they deemed the authors of their wrongs. There was not a man in Ireland ignorant of the cause of these disturbances ; but the rulers of the land were neither willing to acknowledge their tyranny, nor inclined to cease from their rapacity. They adopted the usual favourite remedy of Irish legislators, and passed a sanguinary code of laws, to which no country in Europe can furnish a parallel.

“The Whiteboys,” says Mr Young, “being labouring Catholics, met with all those oppressions I have described, and would probably have continued in full submission, had not very severe treatment in respect of tithes, united with a great speculative

rise of rents about the same time, blown up the flame of resistance. The atrocious acts they were guilty of, made them the subject of general indignation. Acts were passed for their punishment, which seemed calculated for the meridian of Barbary. This arose to such a height, that, by one, they were to be hanged under circumstances without the common formalities of a trial, which, though repealed in the following session, marks the spirit of punishment; while others yet remain the law of the land, that would, if executed, tend more to raise than quell an insurrection."

The old cry of a Popish plot was raised; and the cruelty of fear induced the leaders of the ascendancy to commit new acts of tyranny, and several fell victims to the forms of law, under circumstances of very doubtful guilt. Many more would have met a similar fate, but for the exertions of the judges, and especially Sir Edward Aston, Chief-Judge of the Common Pleas. He was nobly rewarded. On his return from a special commission at Clonmel, he found the roads lined by multitudes of both sexes, the friends and relatives of those whom he had rescued from destruction, invoking the blessings of heaven on his head, for his impartiality in the administration of justice—a blessing of which its rarity had taught them the value.

There was, however, one victim, whose fate deserves to be recorded, not merely as an illustration of the temper of the times, but as an example of the reckless fury with which the Irish aristocracy then, and since, used to hunt down an obnoxious individual. Nicholas Sheehy, the parish-priest of Clogheen, was a man of strong, generous feeling, and full of a noble sympathy for the injured and oppressed—a sentiment which was long deemed treasonable

in Ireland. He had given unpardonable offence to the gentry in the neighbourhood, by resisting their oppression of their tenantry, and denouncing magisterial tyranny. He had frequently shielded persecuted victims, and relieved those whom “the little tyrants of the fields” had reduced to misery; but his character of “village Hampden” was full of danger, even greater than that of his prototype; for in England, at the worst of times, there was some chance of obtaining justice. During the disturbances in the south, he had frequently been tried for “acting as a Popish priest”—an offence then punished with transportation; but evidence sufficient for his conviction could not be obtained. A complaint was next made to government, that he had procured money from France to pay the Whiteboys, and to enlist them in the service of the Pretender. A proclamation was issued, offering a reward of three hundred pounds for Sheehy’s apprehension. On hearing of this, he wrote a letter to the Secretary of State, offering to surrender, provided that he should not be tried at Clonmel, where his enemies would easily be able to pack a jury. His offer was accepted; he was brought to trial in Dublin, and, after a laborious investigation of fourteen hours, was honourably acquitted. The evidence against him was that of a vagrant boy, a common prostitute, and an impeached thief, taken from Clonmel jail, and bribed to give testimony, by promises of pardon and reward.

His acquittal only stimulated the malice of his enemies. A report was circulated that a Whiteboy, named Bridge, had been murdered by his associates, to prevent his giving information; and Sheehy was arrested as a participant in the crime. He had reason to dread a Clonmel jury. On the very same

evidence that had been rejected in Dublin, he was found guilty, and sentenced to be hanged and quartered. The most essential part of the evidence, we should naturally suppose, would be the proof of Bridge's death ; but no such thing was attempted. In fact, it was sworn, by two unexceptionable witnesses, that he had left the country ; and it is notorious, that he was known to be alive several years after. During the trial, the faction that conducted the prosecution formed a guard round the court, excluding the prisoner's witnesses, and grossly insulting all who dared to speak in his favour. So far was the system of terror carried, that his attorney narrowly escaped with his life, and was forced to fly by night to Dublin.

The pretended murder of Bridge was made the pretext for the judicial murder of some other individuals obnoxious to the aristocracy of Tipperary ; but the effect produced by the dying declarations of these unhappy men, caused such a strong sensation of horror, that the persecutors were stopped short in the midst of their career.

The state of morals, during this unhappy time, was deplorable ; the habits of the gentry were coarse and brutal ; the peasant learned all the vices of the slave. The few Catholics who pretended to conform, neither were, nor affected to be, influenced by religious principle. A certificate of having received the sacrament in the church of England was all that the law required to secure their property ; and tradition records many instances of horrible profanation that took place when the test was administered to these insincere converts. But there were also some noble examples of virtue, which it is much more pleasing to contemplate. Many Catholics made ficti-

tious conveyances of their estates to Protestants; and there were very few instances of the violation of this confidence. A poor Protestant barber held the title-deeds of all the Catholic estates in a southern county. He would accept from them neither present nor reward, but supported himself by the labour of his own hands. His only recompence was the testimony of his own conscience, and the gratitude of those whose estates he rescued from the rapacity of the discoverers :—But what more noble recompence could he have obtained?

The seats in the Irish Parliament were at this time held for life, except at the demise of the Crown, or when the King pleased to order a dissolution. The people had consequently little control over their representatives; and by the ingenious contrivances used to close the corporations, the Irish House of Commons became a mere mockery of representation. The English reader will scarcely credit the reality of such an anomaly as the existence of cities and towns, containing several thousand inhabitants, where the elective franchise is confined to twelve or thirteen individuals. But some such still remain; and the populous towns of Cavan, Cashel, and Belfast, have not a constituency much larger than that of Gatton or Old Sarum. If he asks why such an abuse is permitted to exist?—he will be told, that it is essential to the Protestant interest! If he asks for any explanation of the wicked nonsense of such a reply, he will get no answer. Where the towns contained a larger constituency, the corporations adopted an ingenious plan of selling themselves to an extensive dealer in boroughs, and, by bestowing the elective franchise on his friends, dependents, and servants, they soon outnumbered

the resident freemen. This was very successfully practised in Youghal. The corporation party happened to be less numerous than the independents; but they contrived, by finesse, to hold an assembly of which the others were not aware, and created an overwhelming majority of non-residents. They then constituted the Earl of Shannon their patron, agreeing to return his nominees, and receiving, in return, appointments in the Customs and Excise—the Irish government having erected an immense number of useless places in both departments, for the special purpose of rewarding its dependents.*

The proprietors of boroughs, or rather the proprietors of the Irish Parliament, for its cities and counties were virtually close boroughs, formed an anomalous body called *Undertakers*. They entered into a bargain with the government to carry all its measures in Parliament, receiving, in return, places, pensions, and profitable jobs. Similar transactions have occasionally taken place in England; where the parties had the grace to keep them secret. But, in Ireland, corruption stalked unblushingly abroad, and seemed to court the face of day. Honesty and patriotism were so lightly valued, that no one thought it worth while to lay claim to them. The two great objects of the undertakers were, to oppose the independence of the crown, and the liberty of the people. The English ministry did not interfere with the oligarchy in their misgovernment

*. The patronage of the borough has been since transferred to the Duke of Devonshire, in consequence of his having established his right to some land on which the corporation had raised extensive stores and other buildings, about the same time that the Earl of Shannon ceased to possess political influence.

of the unfortunate country, which “ they insulted by their ignorance, plundered by their rapacity, and slandered by their malice.” But factitious opposition to the power of the Crown was an evil of a different nature, which they determined to remove. For this purpose it was resolved, that the Lord Lieutenant, instead of visiting Ireland once in two years, and intrusting the government, in the interval, to Lords-Justices chosen from the undertakers, should, for the future, reside in Dublin, and manage in person the disposal of places, pensions, and preferments.

An unexpected result followed this change. The condition of the people was gradually improved, as the authority of government was strengthened ; and, save when the old oligarchy, by lending their odious influence to a minister, contrived to gain back some portion of their old monopoly, no examples of wanton oppression, on the part of the supreme power, will be found in the rest of this history. It was, however, the misfortune of George the Third’s reign, that most of the administrations formed in it felt afraid of the people ; and that, in consequence, they entered into a new alliance with the Irish oligarchy, and intrusted that dangerous body with powers which they were afterwards unable to control. Every direct exertion of British power has been uniformly in favour of the people ; and Ireland continued to be oppressed, not because the British minister had too much influence, but because he had too little ; being checked, controlled, and fettered by the confederacy of the boroughmongers, which knavery called, and folly believed, to be “ the Protestant interest.”

This beneficial change was not effected without

great expense, and was made the subject of more jokes, good and bad, than will bear to be recorded. Lord Townshend, the viceroy appointed to effect the revolution, possessed a large share of the convivial talents so highly appreciated in Ireland ; he easily collected about the Castle the inferior dependents of the great boroughmongers, and purchased the transfer of their allegiance by the united influence of cash and claret. This was described as “an attempt to monopolize the manufacture of legislators, by purchasing up the raw material ;” and the needy crowd that thronged the Upper Castle-yard, pacing the narrow precincts in hopes of reward, were said to be employed in “ploughing the half acre ;” for so much did its area contain.

CHAPTER XIX.

The Legislative Independence of the Irish Parliament.

A. D. 1768.—THE first great change made in the government of Ireland, was the limitation of the duration of parliament; a measure pressed on the legislature by the unanimous voice of the people during seven years, and finally granted in consequence of a dispute between the Irish oligarchy and the English government. To increase their own popularity, and at the same time to bring odium on Lord Townshend's administration, the Irish Parliament, during several successive sessions, presented the heads of a septennial bill to the Privy Council, certain that the measure would never be sanctioned by that body. The Privy Council at length became weary of this annual farce, and, in a fit of ill humour, transmitted the bill to England. The English ministry, justly enraged at the fierce opposition which the measures of government received from the leaders of the Irish aristocracy, returned the bill, with the single alteration of substituting eight for seven years; and the Irish Parliament, caught in its own toils, was forced to pass the bill into a law. Nothing can be conceived more ludicrous than the consternation of the pretended patriots who had clamoured for the bill, when

they learned that the English government had determined to make the concession. They had for years declared that the measure was essential to the salvation of the country, and poured out the fiercest invectives against the statesmen by whom it was opposed ; but they never dreamed that their labours would have been successful ; and when an event so contrary to their wishes and expectations occurred, they could not conceal the bitterness of their mortification. The nation in general was well aware of the hypocrisy to which it owed its success, and, with creditable forbearance, abstained from overwhelming the authors of the measure with unwelcome thanks and gratulations.

The new parliament had scarcely assembled, when the House of Commons became involved in a dispute with the Viceroy, on a point of constitutional privilege. A money-bill, which had been planned in England, was rejected by the Commons after the first reading, because it had not originated in their house. Lord Townshend, in a rage, sent an angry protest against their proceedings, which the Commons refused to enter on their journals. The Lords were more submissive, and, after a fierce, but brief struggle, allowed the Viceroy's protest to be inserted in their records. The court having suffered several other defeats on questions of less moment, Lord Townshend determined to prorogue the parliament, after a brief session of two months, and to try if, during the recess, any impression could be made on the band of Irish patriots. After an interval of fourteen months, the parliament was reassembled, and the partisans of the court were found to possess an overwhelming majority. The Commons, in their address, returned thanks to the King, for continuing

Lord Townshend in the government. Mr Ponsonby, the speaker, indignant at witnessing this degradation, resigned the chair, rather than carry up such an address. He was succeeded by Mr Edmond Sexton Pery, who had been converted from a patriot into a courtier, by a process of manufacture not unfrequently used in the Irish Parliament.

The rapacity of the agent of an absentee nobleman, the Marquis of Donegal, produced a fierce agrarian insurrection in the county of Antrim, which soon extended over the greater part of Ulster. The insurgents named themselves *Hearts of Steel*, to show the firmness of their resolution. They determined not to pay the extravagant rents and fines demanded by the landlords and their agents, and to destroy the cattle and houses of any tenants who should take the land "over their heads." By the exertions of the military, several of the Steel-men were arrested and brought to trial at Carrickfergus; but they were acquitted, from the supposed partiality of the witnesses and the juries. The Irish aristocracy, enraged at being disappointed of the expected vengeance on their revolted vassals, passed a law, that trials for insurrectionary offences should be held in counties different from those in which the crimes had been committed. Some of the insurgents were, in consequence, brought to trial in Dublin; but the juries, disgusted at such an arbitrary and unconstitutional proceeding, acquitted the prisoners without hesitation. This infamous law was repealed during the administration of Lord Harcourt, and the juries in the disturbed districts were at the same time induced to do their duty with firmness. After several of the insurgents had been convicted and executed, the disturbances were suppressed; but an immense number

of the Ulster Protestants sought refuge from the rapacity of their landlords in the wilds of America.

A. D. 1776.—The haughty and oppressive spirit, which the British government had so long displayed to the British colonies and dependencies, at length produced the dire effects which every man of sense had long predicted. The States of North America, justly irritated at the insane attempt of the British Parliament to tax them without their own consent, took up arms, and set the mother country at defiance. The history of the eventful struggle, which, at the end of six years, terminated in the acknowledgement of the American republic, belongs not to this work. We must however remark, that the war for the subjugation of the Americans was at first decidedly popular in England. From the habit of using the phrase “*our colonies*,” there was not an English peasant who did not regard the colonists as rebels against himself, and as enemies to some fancied authority and power, which he deemed the privilege of every Englishman by his birthright. Ireland was regarded as a province even more completely at the disposal of England; and, after the American war had been formally commenced, the dangerous effect of such an example on a nation, still more grievously oppressed, was a circumstance that quite escaped the notice of the statesmen, to whom the destinies of the country had been intrusted. They remained in a state of ignorant apathy, until they had brought the government to the very brink of ruin, and exposed the country to the horrors of civil war, from which it was saved almost by accident. The American colonies had afforded the most extensive and profitable markets for the sale of Irish linens; but the war closed the trade, and the linen manufac-

ures soon experienced a severe decline. At the same time, by an unusual and scarcely constitutional exertion of the prerogative, an embargo was laid on the exportation of Irish provisions, under pretence of preventing supplies to the revolted colonies, but, in reality, to enable certain powerful contractors to fulfil their engagements with ease and profit. The consequence of this profligate job was general misery throughout the nation, at the very moment that it was called upon to make unusual exertions to suppress the American revolt. So manifest were the distresses of Ireland, that, on the motion of Earl Nugent, the British Parliament, in April 1778, passed several resolutions, declaring the expediency of removing many of the restrictions which had been imposed on Irish commerce. The commercial jealousy of England was, however, unfortunately aroused; petitions against opening the trade of Ireland pouring in from every side; and those from Liverpool, Manchester, and Glasgow, menaced rebellion in no very obscure terms, if the parliament should persevere in its proposed course of wisdom and justice. The English Premier, Lord North, had sense enough to perceive that these concessions were demanded by sound policy, but he had not firmness to withstand the popular clamour. The bills founded on Lord Nugent's resolutions were rejected; and Ireland, so far as the British parliament was concerned, sentenced to hopeless misery. Lord North shone more firmness on another question. Acts for repealing some of the penal laws, and for permitting Catholics to acquire property in land, so far as a lease of nine hundred and ninety-nine years, were sanctioned by the British and Irish Parliaments, but not without encountering a fierce and vehement opposition.

A. D. 1778.—The resistance of the English merchants to the opening of the Irish trade, spread general dissatisfaction—the more dangerous, as Ireland had lately obtained a species of National Guard, an army composed of citizen-soldiers, whose remonstrances could not be neglected with impunity. There are few Irishmen of the present day who can speak of those celebrated men, the Volunteers, without feelings of enthusiastic admiration ; for they, without bloodshed, raised their country from a degraded province to the dignity of a nation, and created the first sources of the little prosperity that Ireland has been permitted to enjoy. Though a Volunteer corps had been formed some years previously in the county of Wexford for suppressing the nocturnal devastations of the Whiteboys, yet to the town of Belfast must mainly be attributed the chief origin of this national army. In the year 1778, the sun of England's glory seemed to have set ; the high and palmy days of the British flag were gone ; American privateers swept the narrow seas, and captured our vessels in sight of our coasts ; the French threatened an invasion ; and there was neither a fleet nor an army capable of resisting them. At this unpropitious period, the people of Belfast, alarmed at their unprotected state, petitioned the government for a garrison ; and received as an answer, that half a troop of dismounted cavalry, and half a company of invalids, constituted all the force that could be spared ! Deserted by the government, the inhabitants of that spirited town prepared to defend themselves. They formed a corps of volunteers, elected officers, and took active measures to give their new soldiers discipline and efficiency. Several other towns followed the example ; and the government, urged by

the necessity of the case, supplied their new defenders with sixteen thousand stand of arms. In the year 1779, Spain acceded to the hostile confederacy which had been formed against Great Britain. A combined fleet rode triumphant in the British channel ; and nothing but ignorance of its defenceless situation prevented the French and Spanish admirals from destroying the port of Plymouth. In this moment of doubt and danger, such additional activity was shown by the Irish in organizing their new national force, that the number of volunteers in a short time amounted to forty-two thousand, all animated with the warmest feelings of patriotism and loyalty. So formidable was their aspect, that the enemy resigned all thoughts of an invasion ; and so tranquil was the island, that never at any subsequent period has it been more free from disturbances of an insurrectionary character.

The Irish parliament was emboldened, by the support of the national army, to make some exertions to attain independence. In the October of 1779, it was unanimously resolved to present an address to the Viceroy, declaring that "nothing but a free trade could save the nation from impending ruin." The address was carried up by the speaker to the Castle, through the ranks of the Dublin volunteers, who lined the streets in their arms and uniforms, amid the loud acclamations of the populace, inspired with hope that the national distress would be speedily relieved. The unanimous thanks of the Commons was voted to the independent companies for the readiness they had shown to defend their country in the moment of danger ; and a similar resolution was adopted in the Lords, with the single dissentient voice of Lifford, the Lord Chancellor. The Commons, to mark more

strongly their determination to obtain redress of their commercial grievances, granted the supplies for six months only, and passed a resolution, declaring, that the granting of new taxes would, under existing circumstances, be inexpedient. These spirited declarations of the Commons, were followed by resolutions at several county meetings against the use of English manufactures. Such was their effect, that Lord North introduced, without opposition, two bills, granting to the Irish traders greater advantages than had been already proposed by Lord Nugent ; but, with a reckless disregard of national feeling, which has been since more than once imitated by British statesmen, he accompanied the concession with some insulting declarations, which prevented the favour from being received with gratitude. The English minister declared, that the opening of the Irish trade was a boon from the English parliament, resumable at pleasure. The Irish were indignant at being told that they held their commerce by so precarious a tenure, and determined to secure it by establishing the independence of their own legislature.

Meetings were held by several bands of the volunteers, and resolutions adopted, asserting the sole right of legislation for Ireland, to rest in her own king and parliament ; and at a meeting of the Dublin volunteers in the summer of 1780, at which the Duke of Leinster presided, a vote was passed, almost tantamount to a declaration of war, which was subsequently adopted by the greater number of the independent companies in Ireland. This celebrated resolution stated, "that the Kings, Lords, and Commons of Ireland only, were competent to make laws, binding the subjects of this realm ; and that they would not obey, or give operation to, any laws, save

only those enacted by the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland, whose rights and privileges, jointly and severally, they were determined to support with their lives and fortunes." The Irish parliament by no means sympathized with the enthusiasm of the volunteers : the session of 1780 was spent in a vigorous struggle between a minority, supported by rank, talent, and the unanimous voice of the nation, and a purchased majority, which rendered all the labour of the patriots ineffectual by monosyllabic votes. The English cabinet thought that their Viceroy, the Earl of Buckinghamshire, had not shown sufficient firmness in resisting the efforts of the opposition ; he was therefore recalled, and the government of Ireland intrusted to the Earl of Carlisle. But to check the growth of the volunteers was now beyond the power of government ; their numbers amounted to fifty thousand ; and in a review at Belfast, five thousand four hundred of the citizen-soldiers appeared in the field, with a train of thirteen pieces of artillery. Though greatly alarmed, the government could not venture to discourage this formidable force ; and every pretext for throwing any imputations on their loyalty was removed by the readiness with which, on the renewed threats of an invasion, they offered their services for the defence of their country.

The volunteers did not, however, confine themselves to the defence of their country against a foreign foe, the original purpose for which they had taken up arms ; they were firmly determined on procuring, for their native land, a free commerce, secured by an independent legislature. Their hopes of obtaining the assistance of their own parliament were frustrated in the session of 1781. A ministerial majority negatived every resolution for a de-

claration of rights, and every motion for giving Ireland the full enjoyment of the British constitution. Two bills, however, were passed for a further relaxation of the penal laws, without any apparent interference of the ministry. The northern volunteers, commanded by the Earl of Charlemont, disappointed by the conduct of the House of Commons, assembled at Armagh in the latter end of December, and, after passing several resolutions bitterly condemning parliamentary corruption, invited the different independent companies to send delegates to some central town in Ulster, in order to deliberate on the situation of public affairs. It was subsequently arranged, that the convention should assemble at Dungannon in the February of the ensuing year.

A. D. 1782.—The meeting of the delegates, dreaded as a dangerous measure by the best friends of Ireland, and by none more than the virtuous and patriotic Lord Charlemont, who presided over the volunteers, took place at the time appointed. The greater part of the resolutions were prepared by Lord Charlemont, aided by Flood and Grattan, the two great orators of the Irish Commons; by which prudential precaution, much of the violence which might have been expected from such an assembly was prevented. The delegates of one hundred and forty-three companies met; and the numbers in these companies, and in those that subsequently acceded to their resolutions, was not less than one hundred thousand men, well armed, and possessing eighty-eight pieces of artillery. The three most important resolutions of this truly formidable body were as follows:—

“ Resolved, that a claim of any body of men, other than the King, Lords, and Commons of Ire-

land, to make laws to bind this kingdom, is unconstitutional, illegal, and *a grievance*.

“ Resolved, that the powers exercised by the Privy Council of both kingdoms, under, or under colour or pretence of the Law of Poynings, are unconstitutional, and *a grievance*.

“ Resolved, that a mutiny bill, not limited in point of duration from session to session, is unconstitutional, and *a grievance*.”

To give these resolutions more effect, committees of correspondence were formed, and a national committee appointed to regulate the entire system.

What would have been the consequences if the British ministry had persevered in their refusal to redress these grievances, is now fortunately matter of conjecture. The surrender of Lord Cornwallis in Carolina lost America to Great Britain, but preserved Ireland. Lord North’s imbecile administration was forced to resign, and a new ministry formed under the auspices of the Marquis of Rockingham and Mr Fox; one of whose earliest measures was to bestow on Ireland her full share of the rights and blessings secured by the British constitution. The Duke of Portland was sent over as Lord Lieutenant, in the room of the Earl of Carlisle; and, in his first message to the Irish legislature, he promised a full repeal of those grievances of which Ireland had so justly complained. The enthusiasm produced, within and without the walls of Parliament, is indescribable. A hundred thousand pounds were unanimously voted for the service of the navy, and fifty thousand pounds presented to Grattan himself, as a testimony of national gratitude for the zeal and ability with which he had contended for the rights of his country.

The great revolution of 1782 conferred on Ireland greater blessings than England had derived from that of 1688. The country was raised from its degraded provincial state, to take its rank among the European nations ; its natural capabilities for commerce, which had long been sacrificed to a cruel and unwise jealousy, began to be cultivated ; and these advantages were obtained without a drop of blood being shed in the contest. But Irish writers, in their enthusiastic admiration of this glorious period, momentarily forgot that Ireland remained still subject to all the evils of internal misgovernment,—still under the control of the Cromwellian oligarchy,—still disgraced by a penal code which denied a political existence to three-fourths of the population. When these matters are taken into consideration, it may fairly be doubted that the new constitution was fraught with those extravagant advantages which have been ascribed to it by many historians. It changed but slightly the character of the evils to which the unfortunate country had been so long exposed ; in short, the revolution was incomplete, and the new constitution added to some of the most glaring defects of the old others peculiarly its own. Had the Rockingham ministry continued in power—had the Irish patriots in parliament preserved their unanimity—or had the volunteers laid aside their Protestant prejudices, and identified themselves with the great body of the nation, results truly glorious might have followed ; but the death of the Marquis of Rockingham, the disputes between Mr Fox and the Earl of Shelburne, and finally, the defeat of the India Bill, drove the Whigs from power : the Irish patriots, divided into small parties, assailing each other rather than the common enemy ; and the volunteers,

while they clamoured for freedom, were determined to rivet the chains which bound the majority of their countrymen. The Irish oligarchy regarded these accidents and blunders with no incurious or uninteresting glance. Their leaders waited with patience, until the momentary enthusiasm of the nation had been cooled by the idle bickerings of the patriots and the absurd bigotry of the volunteers. They had not long to wait. The time which they had so wisely anticipated soon arrived ; they resumed the reins of power ; reestablished their old system of cruelty and corruption ; and subjected the unfortunate country to another course of oppression, misery, and degradation.

CHAPTER XX.

The History of the Irish Legislature during the period of its Independence.

THE first cause of dispute between the leaders of the Irish patriots, was with respect to securing the newly-acquired independence of their legislature. Mr Flood, and a small but active party, asserted, that the simple repeal of the declaratory acts asserting the supremacy of the British parliament, was insufficient, because the claim of right was not expressly conceded ; on the other hand, Mr Grattan, with an overwhelming majority, contended that, under all the circumstances of the case, the simple repeal was a virtual renunciation of all British legislative and judicial authority over Ireland. The point at issue was, practically, of little moment ; but the vigour and virulence with which it was contested, raised it into importance. The sarcasms interchanged between the leaders were unequalled in the annals of vituperative eloquence. Flood described his opponent as “ the mendicant patriot who was bought by his country for money, and then sold that country for prompt payment.” Grattan described his antagonist as “ an ominous bird of prey with cadaverous aspect, sepulchral notes and broken beak, meditating to pounce upon his quarry.” He divided his political life into

three periods ; and said that, “ in the first, he was intemperate ; in the second corrupt ; in the last seditious :” and, after a bitter exposure of the whole course of Flood’s public career, concluded thus : “ Such has been your conduct, and, at such conduct, every order of your fellow-subjects have a right to exclaim. The merchant may say to you, the constitutionalist may say to you, the American may say to you, and I now say to you, and say to your beard, Sir—you are not an honest man !”

The conduct of the English Chief-Justice soon proved that Flood was not altogether wrong in looking on England with jealousy. Notwithstanding the repeal of the laws that gave the English judicature supremacy over Ireland, Lord Mansfield received, and gave judgment on an appeal from the Irish Court of King’s Bench. Discontent began to spread rapidly ; but, fortunately, the Whigs were still in power ; and in the month of January 1783, they introduced a bill into the British Parliament “ for removing and preventing all doubts which may have arisen, concerning the exclusive rights of the parliament and courts of Ireland in matters of legislation and judicature.” It was passed into a law with little opposition ; and thus the independence of Ireland was fully established. But the forces by which the triumph had been obtained were broken, never again to be reunited.

The defects in the constitution of the English House of Commons were so manifest at the close of the American war, that many English statesmen declared themselves reformers, and prepared plans for a more equal representation of the people. The greater number of these patriots, however, subsequently changed sides, and bitterly persecuted those

who advocated projects which they had themselves described as essential to the safety of the realm. The original example was not lost on the Irish volunteers, who knew that the English House of Commons, with all its defects, was a model of purity compared with that of Ireland. It was determined to assemble a convention, similar to that which had formerly met at Dungannon ; and delegates were elected by the volunteers in the different counties to meet in Dublin, and devise the best mode to remedy the defects in the representation. The delegates elected on this occasion were chosen from the most staunch and violent reformers in the country ; and it will perhaps amaze some of my readers to learn, that among them were to be found the Right Honourable Robert Stewart, known to Europe under the name of Lord Castlereagh ; Mr Robert Day, who afterwards became an Irish judge, and the guardian of an Irish borough during the minority of the proprietors ; and Sir Richard Musgrave, who afterwards wrote countless pamphlets to prove that patriotism was treason. But Ireland is not the only country in which recreant reformers have become the most fierce and unprincipled supporters of despotic power.

The plan of reform proposed by the Convention of Delegates was presented to the House of Commons in November 1783 by Mr Flood, amid great public excitement, not unmixed with apprehension. It was opposed by Yelverton, the Attorney-general on the plausible ground that it emanated from a body of armed men, who attempted illegally to overawe the legislature ; and was rejected by an overwhelming majority. The Convention did not exhibit, on this occasion, the spirit which was hoped by its friends, and feared by its enemies. After passing

a declaratory resolution, that “ they would individually exert themselves in the cause of parliamentary reform,” and agreeing to a very tame address to the King in the name of the “ Volunteers of Ireland,” it was adjourned indefinitely. This lame and impotent conclusion is explained by the fact, that most of the reformers became soon after place-holders, and receivers of pensions.

The dismissal of the coalition ministry, and the accession to power of Mr Pitt, the pledged advocate of reform, inspired Flood with hopes which were soon disappointed. Mr Pitt went through the mockery of proposing a measure of reform in England, but allowed himself to be defeated by his own creatures ; and he soon after gave a full proof of his insincerity, by checking the projects of the reformers with a vigour not always restrained within the limits of constitutional law. The disappointment of the Irish people was great, and it was aggravated by the continuance of certain commercial restrictions which the English still imposed on the trade of Ireland. The latter grievance Mr Pitt was anxious to remove ; and, at his instigation, Mr Secretary Orde laid before the Irish parliament eleven propositions, as the basis of an equitable commercial treaty between England and Ireland. These propositions were drawn up in a spirit of wisdom and liberality that had no parallel in the annals of the Irish government. They were, however, opposed by some of the more violent patriots, but were finally adopted with the general consent and applause of the nation. Far different was their reception in England. The blind and malignant system of commercial jealousy, which has been so often the bane of English commerce, was aroused. Petitions against the bill were poured in from England

and Scotland. Pitt, after a brief resistance, preferred on this, as on other occasions, the retention of power to the preservation of rectitude and consistency: he consented to such additions, mutilations and changes, that the whole basis of the system was altered; and the twenty propositions finally adopted by the British parliament, bore little or no resemblance to the eleven that had been transmitted from Ireland. The Irish parliament had, on the faith of the eleven propositions, granted to the minister additional taxes to the amount of 140,000 pounds; and, mean and truckling as that body always was, it could not on the present occasion, avoid manifesting some symptoms of indignation for the mingled treachery and contumely with which it had been treated. When Mr Orde introduced the bill founded on the English propositions, he encountered a storm of resistance which he had by no means anticipated. The utmost exertions of government could only command a majority of nineteen in a very full house; and the minister, unable to depend on the continuance even of this support, gave up the bill. The defeat of the minister was celebrated by a general illumination. Resolutions against the use of English manufactures were adopted in several popular assemblies; and numerous mobs paraded Dublin, avowing their determination "to burn every thing belonging to England except coals!"

The government of Ireland was at this time administered by the Duke of Rutland, a nobleman beloved for his open, liberal, and convivial behaviour but whose sway deserves the severest reprobation, for the unblushing profligacy and licentiousness which then sprung up amid the higher ranks of life. The scenes of the worst days of Charles II. and Louis

XIV. were reenacted, and even surpassed, in the Castle of Dublin. The pernicious consequences of the encouragement then given to vice and dissipation, were long felt in Ireland. A demoralized gentry could not possess arbitrary power without abusing it ; and the oppression of the tenantry kept pace with the increasing profligacy of their landlords. Several agrarian insurrections broke out in the south of Ireland ; the peasants were sworn to obey the commands of Captain Right, who, like the Captain Rock and Terry Alt of modern times, was merely an imaginary personage. The first efforts of the insurgents were directed against the system of tithes—that great source of Irish misery and discontent. The gentry did not interfere effectually while the attacks of the Right-boys were confined to the church ; but when they began to prepare a tariff for rents, the alarm of insurrection was raised, and a bill for the prevention of illegal assemblies and combinations brought into the House of Commons by the Attorney-general Fitzgibbon, afterwards Earl of Clare.

The picture drawn by this gentleman of the distress to which the Irish peasants are subjected by the rapacity of their landlords, would be scarcely credible, if the existence of similar evil at the present hour did not furnish us with ocular demonstration on the subject. He said, “ that the peasants, ground to powder by enormous rents, could not procure the ordinary necessaries of life ; that some landlords had incited the tenantry to rob the clergy of their tithes, not to alleviate distress, but to add the difference to their own rack-rents ; and that the peasantry of Munster, bound to pay six pounds an acre in rent, and to work for their landlords at the rate of fivepence per day, could no longer exist in their present state of

wretchedness. Nearly half a century has elapsed since this memorable speech was delivered ; and the abominable system which it so powerfully exposed, has been but slightly ameliorated. Laws have since been passed in countless numbers, to aid the landlord against the tenant ; but no law, to protect the tenant from the avaricious despotism of the landlord, could ever meet the sanction of the Irish legislature ; for rulers have always found it more easy to coerce the aggrieved, than to redress grievances.

After the death of the Duke of Rutland, the Earl of Temple, created Marquis of Buckingham, was appointed Viceroy. His first act was a severe scrutiny into the management of the fiscal departments at the Castle ; and the amount of peculation which he discovered was enormous. The frauds detected were so gross, that nothing but the most inconceivable negligence, or a secret participation in the spoils, can account for their having escaped the cognizance of former viceroys. The zeal of the Marquis in detecting abuses, however, soon cooled. The British ministry was almost forced to govern Ireland by systematic corruption, after the independence of its legislature had been once established : three-fourths of the members of parliament were the nominees of borough-mongers ; and those who represented cities were elected by corporations far more corrupt than the worst trafficker in seats that ever existed.

A. D. 1789.—Notwithstanding the enormous expenditure by which Pitt's ministry had purchased a preponderating influence in the Irish parliament, a case soon occurred, which showed that the affection and support of his creatures were regulated more by the prospect of rewards, than the retrospect of favours. The mental derangement of George III. threatened

to hurl the minister from his elevation ; for the Prince of Wales was, personally and politically, connected with the Whigs. To avert this danger, Pitt brought into the British parliament a bill, imposing so many restrictions on the Regent, that his exercise of royal power would have been a mere mockery. In the British parliament the minister succeeded ; but many of the Irish borough-proprietors, believing his Majesty's recovery hopeless, resolved to be foremost in their worship of the rising sun, and, by a large majority, voted to the Prince of Wales the regency of the kingdom, unfettered by any restrictions. Fortunately, before any hostile collision could arise from the repugnant decisions of the two parliaments, his Majesty recovered ; and the Prince of Wales could only express his gratitude for the unbounded confidence tendered to him by the people of Ireland. From this moment the project of the Union seems to have been ever present to Mr Pitt's mind. It needed but little political sagacity to discover, that a renewed repugnancy of decision between two imperial legislatures, must inevitably lead to a contest, and probably to a separation ; and it showed that all the agency of corruption could not secure a majority, when hopes of greater advantages were offered.

If any thing further was necessary to prove that " the Irish parliament was a nuisance, which ought to be abated," it may be found in the facility with which the majority returned to their allegiance as soon as they heard of the King's recovery, and the minister's consequent stability. The Marquis of Buckingham, disgusted at being made the unpopular instrument of profligate corruption, retired from Ireland in June, and was succeeded by the Earl of

Westmoreland, whose administration was characterized by a system of bribery still more extensive. Peerages were notoriously sold ; and the money, thus infamously raised, was as infamously expended in purchasing seats in the lower house for the minions of government ; and so public were these transactions, that the official members, when charged with their delinquency, did not attempt to deny the charge. In concluding his speech on the sale of peerages, Mr Grattan, in the name of the little minority that opposed the destructive and disgraceful system pursued by the Irish administration, used the following pointed and powerful words :—

“ We charge them publicly, in the face of the country, with making corrupt agreements for the sale of peerages ; for doing which, we say that they are impeachable. We charge them with corrupt agreements for the disposal of the money arising from the sale, to purchase, for the servants of the Castle, seats in the assembly of the people ; for doing which, we say that they are impeachable. We charge them with committing these offences, not in one, nor in two, but in many instances ; for which complication of offences we say that they are impeachable—guilty of a systematic endeavour to undermine the constitution, in violation of the laws of the land. We pledge ourselves to convict them ; we dare them to go into an inquiry ; we do not affect to treat them as other than public malefactors ; we speak to them in a style of the most mortifying and humiliating defiance. We pronounce them to be public criminals. Will they dare to deny the charge ? I call upon, and dare the ostensible member to rise in his place, and say, on his honour, that he does not believe such corrupt agreements have taken place. I wait for a

specific answer." Major Hobart, the Irish Secretary, refused to give any reply, on the ground, that an inquiry into the motives for raising persons to the peerage was trenching on the royal prerogative.

It was not to be expected that such a system of government could be continued, without provoking the opposition of all who had any regard for the interests of their country, or the maintenance of public virtue. Many persons, whose attention had been directed to politics by the stirring events of 1782, disgusted with the profligacy of the administration, and the subserviency of parliament, directed their attention to the reform of the constitution, and formed themselves into different societies for the purpose, which were all finally lost in the general association of United Irishmen. Coercion was therefore brought to the aid of corruption ; arbitrary fines were imposed on the editors of papers ; public meetings were forcibly dispersed, and those who presided at them marked out for the vengeance of the government ; and the facility with which the volunteers had been overthrown, led the Irish oligarchy to suppose that their power was irresistible. But though the leaders of the patriotic clubs were Protestants, and many of them deeply tinged with the prejudices of their ancestors, they avoided the fatal error of their predecessors, and advocated the constitutional rights of their Catholic countrymen. The Catholic body itself had undergone a great change. The number of Catholic families that had emigrated at the Revolution, and formed commercial establishments in various parts of Europe, was very great ; and when, almost at the same moment, the trade of Ireland was opened, and the property of Catholics secured by law, the members of that communion who engaged in commerce

soon outstripped their Protestant rivals. The Catholic aristocracy, fettered by the privileges and prejudices of their order, and, in many instances, as conspicuous for the oppression of their fenantry as any of the Protestant oligarchy, refused to become the head of the movement made by the general body. The Catholics were therefore compelled to seek leaders in the middle ranks of life, and they found men conspicuous for energy and talent ; but, as was to be expected, not very remarkable for prudence or moderation.

At the moment when the delinquency of the Irish government was most flagrant—when a large body of the Protestants eagerly sought for reform, and the entire Catholic body as zealously sought for emancipation—the French revolution burst forth, and convulsed all Europe to its centre. The conduct of the Irish administration at this crisis was mournfully ludicrous. In 1792, the petition of the Roman Catholics, for the extension of the elective franchise to their body, and the petition of the Protestants of Belfast in their favour, were rejected with circumstances of great contumely. During the parliamentary recess, the different grand juries were directly encouraged by the government to adopt very strong resolutions against farther concessions to the Catholics. Having thus raised the hopes of the violent Protestants, and provoked the just enmity of the Catholics, the government, to the utter astonishment of both parties, early in the sessions of 1793, introduced a bill for extending the elective franchise to the Catholics, which passed into a law by nearly the same majority that, only a few months before, had voted against even taking the subject into consideration. Several popular and conciliatory measures were at the same time adopted ; amongst others, leave

was given to bring in a bill for amending the state of the popular representation ; and a bill for disqualifying certain placemen was actually passed. The minority, in return, supported the minister in several coercive measures ; such as, an act against the importation of arms and military stores ; an act against conventions ; and an act for raising a militia. The plan of parliamentary reform, which had been prepared apparently with the implied sanction, or at least neutrality of the ministry, was rejected in 1794 by a great majority ; but there was, however, some reason to hope that measures of justice and conciliation would yet be adopted, and the fatal calamities of civil war averted.

A. D. 1795.—It seems evident that Mr Pitt, at this period, was anxious to bestow on Ireland those blessings of a good and impartial government, with which the island had been almost wholly unacquainted for centuries ; and that his wise and benevolent intentions were defeated by the aristocratic faction of which he was at once the master and the slave. On the 4th of January, Earl Fitzwilliam arrived in Ireland as Viceroy, and his presence was hailed with enthusiastic delight by all ; but the base faction that had hitherto monopolized and abused the administration once more blighted the hopes of the nation. Bills for the complete emancipation of the Roman Catholics, and for the remedy of the flagrant abuses in the police establishment, were introduced with little opposition ; but, before any further steps could be taken, intelligence arrived that the recall of the popular Lord Lieutenant had been determined by the British cabinet. This fatal resolution was owing to the influence of the Beresfords, irritated at the dismissal of one of their family

from office. Fitzwilliam had too many examples in Irish history of the manner in which official underlings had contrived to defeat the beneficent intentions of the chief governors, not to make a change of men accompany a change of measures ; but, unfortunately for the country, he relied for support on the honour and firmness of a minister, who had all along through public life sacrificed both to the caprices and prejudices of the aristocracy.

With the recall of Earl Fitzwilliam the civil history of Ireland terminates. The administration of Earl Camden was in fact an open war between two parties equally hostile to the true interests of the nation. In the language of Mr Grattan, “ Two desperate parties were in arms against the constitution. On the one side there was the camp of the rebel ; on the other the camp of the minister, a greater traitor than that rebel ; and the treason of the minister against the people was infinitely worse than the rebellion of the people against the minister.”

The leaders of the minority struggled in vain to check the measures of coercion adopted by government—measures that would have been preeminent for atrocity in the age of Nero, or at the worst period of the Turkish annals. They proposed, in their stead, measures of justice and conciliation, which were sternly rejected. Lord Moira, in the British House of Lords, and Mr Fox, in the British Commons, in vain besought the interposition of the supreme power to check the excesses of the local government : Pitt yielded to the Beresfords, but was deaf to the cries of a nation ; and the moments, when yet conciliation would have preserved tranquillity, were suffered to pass by. The opposition in the Irish parliament, finding that their

warnings were unheeded, and that they were personally pointed out as objects of vengeance to the violent portion of the faction which had gathered round the government, determined to secede. Mr Grattan, on the night that Mr Ponsonby brought forward his last measure of conciliation, announced this determination on the part of himself and his colleagues in the following words : “ We have offered you our measure, you will reject it. We deprecate yours. You will persevere. Having no hopes left to persuade or dissuade, and having discharged our duty, we shall trouble you no more, and, after this day, shall not attend the House of Commons.”

The Parliament was soon after dissolved. True to his declaration, Mr Grattan declined to become a candidate for Dublin, and took leave of his constituents in an address which will last as long as the English people. The new parliament was almost wholly devoted to the faction of the ascendancy, and of course essentially hostile to the nation. It soon precipitated a convulsion which covered its members with disgrace, and flooded the country with blood ; and when the measure of its crimes was full, laid violent hands upon itself, and punished its own enormities by a just act of judicial suicide.

CHAPTER XXI.

The Insurrection of 1798.

“ There was mixed with the public cause, in that struggle, ambition, sedition, and violence. But no man will persuade me, that it was not the cause of liberty on the one side, and of tyranny on the other.”—*Lord Chatham, speaking of the Civil Wars in the reign of Charles I.*

THE true history of the fierce struggle, usually, but improperly, called the Irish rebellion, remains to be written. It would be impossible to give, in our limited space, any thing more than the general features of the contest ; but, at some future period, we may probably be able to enter more fully into the truly important details. The efforts of the volunteers to obtain a reform in the Irish parliament were defeated, because that body lost the confidence of the great body of the nation, by showing an unwillingness to concede their just rights to the Catholics. A few of the body, however, entertained more liberal opinions, and they eagerly sought to unite Irishmen of every religious persuasion in the great object of securing good and impartial government for their country. The institution of the society of United Irishmen might have been the era from whence Ireland would have dated the commencement of social hap-

piness, had the government of that day been at all disposed to strengthen itself by securing 'the affections of the people ; but having unfortunately entered into close alliance with the ancient oligarchy, it lost the power of doing good, even when it possessed the inclination. The repeated disappointments of the hopes which some of the patriots entertained, of finally obtaining justice from parliament, induced many to regard revolution as the only means by which reform could be effected. Simultaneous with the efforts of the United Irishmen to obtain reform, were those of the Catholics to obtain emancipation. The reformers were chiefly dissenters, the descendants of the Scottish Presbyterians, who had settled in Ulster during the reigns of James I. Charles I. and Cromwell. The Catholic leaders were principally natives of Leinster and Munster. As the objects of both were nearly similar, it was obviously their interest to unite ; and a junction between the reforming Dissenters and the Catholic committee was effected, chiefly by the agency of Theobald Wolfe Tone. From the very beginning, however, there was a marked and radical difference between these two parties. The Dissenters, inheriting the spirit and tenets of their ancestors the Covenanters, were mostly republicans from principle. The great body of the Catholics only became so, through persecution and oppression. In the melancholy annals of the period, we find the Catholic body slowly and reluctantly yielding to the persuasions of the enthusiastic northerns ; and, with manifest regret, relinquishing the attachment to monarchy, inculcated by the feudal principles of their religion. While the leaders of the Catholics and the Dissenters were kept apart by these feelings, a still greater barrier

was raised between the lower ranks of the respective communions, by an illegal and iniquitous system of persecution, connived at, if not directly encouraged, by the government. Fighting between factions composed of Protestants and Catholics, had become a frequent practice in the county of Armagh; and had, of course, preserved alive the bitterest religious animosity between the parties. After the concession of the elective franchise to the Catholics, the hate of the lower order of Protestants was exasperated by self-interest. Previously to that event, the vote of the Protestant freeholder made him a more eligible tenant to an electioneering landlord; but now when the Catholic was permitted to compete with him on equal terms, he found the landlord inclined to take advantage of the open market, by raising his rents. In 1795, a Protestant banditti, calling themselves *Peep-of-day-boys*, served notice on most of the Catholics in the county of Armagh, to quit their farms before a certain day, threatening destruction of property, and even loss of life, in case of disobedience. To oppose this association, the Catholics formed that of the Defenders, which soon spread widely over the country, and soon proceeded from defence to aggression. Towards the close of that year, the *Peep-of-day-boys* formed themselves into an Orange Association, which was soon joined by a number of respectable and influential individuals. The professed object of the new institution was to maintain Protestant ascendancy, and the principles established at the Revolution. It is but justice to add, that the respectable portion of the Orange society was decidedly opposed to the plundering system established by their vulgar associates; but they could not control their excesses, and had subse-

quently to deplore that they were themselves hurried to the commission of acts of violence and cruelty, by having joined a society whose foundation was eternal hostility to the greater portion of their fellow-countrymen. The *Peep-of-day-boys* were not checked before they had driven from Armagh several hundred Catholic families. These, seeking refuge in various parts of the country, spread through the Catholic body a report, to which appearances gave some sanction, that the extermination of the Catholics was the real object of the new Orange Association.

The almost incessant warfare between landlords and tenants in the south and west of Ireland, occasioned by oppression on the one hand, and intolerable misery on the other, served to swell the ranks of the defenders ; but, at the same time, the excesses committed in these agrarian insurrections disgusted, and in some degree alienated, the northern Protestants ; so that the union of Catholics and Dissenters was exposed to dissolution, from the very first moments of its formation. The imperfect concessions of 1793 produced a dangerous distraction in the councils of the United Irishmen. The Dissenters thought that they saw, in the Catholics, a great lukewarmness to the general cause of liberty, and began to withdraw themselves from persons who thus would rest content with partial justice. At this crisis, the Reverend William Jackson, an emissary from France, arrived in Ireland, being sent by the French government to sound the dispositions of the Irish people. The inconceivable folly and rashness of this man's proceedings gave rise to a suspicion that he was secretly the spy of the British government ; and his suicide alone clears his memory from the foul imputation. It is not so easy to re-

remove the stain which this transaction affixes to the British ministry at the period. From the very beginning, all Jackson's views and intentions were known to the government. Before he came to Ireland, the object of his journey had been betrayed. He was allowed to proceed, not to detect, but to form a conspiracy, and to secure a sufficient supply of victims. This atrocious instance of designing cruelty failed to produce the desired effect. The imprudence of Jackson was so manifest, that only two or three enthusiasts committed themselves, and these contrived to make their escape. Jackson's public trial produced an unexpected consequence; it revealed to the Irish the fact, that France was willing to become their ally, and gave fresh confidence to the Union from the hopes of foreign aid. The recall of Earl Fitzwilliam, followed by the adoption of measures which were tantamount to a declaration of war by the government against the people, drove an immense number into the ranks of the United Irishmen. The new converts were men of virtue and ability; they had sought constitutional reform by constitutional means, while that object seemed attainable; and even now, while preparing a revolution, they yearned for a reconciliation with the parliament, and held back from striking any decisive blow, trusting that the necessity of shedding blood might yet be averted. Among them were to be found Lord Edward Fitzgerald, Arthur O'Connor, Emmet, M'Nevin—men whose characters may challenge comparison with those of the purest patriots recorded in history. They reorganized the society of United Irishmen; and, in the north, where the system of organization was complete, one hundred thousand men were ready to start up at the com-

mand of their leaders. The negotiation opened with the French Directory, was carried on with equal spirit and prudence. While every security for the repayment of the expenses incurred in the expedition was offered, measures were taken to preserve the independence of Ireland, and to save it from becoming a mere province of France. Lord Edward Fitzgerald, especially, made it an express condition, that France should send but a small military force, and that her aid should be chiefly limited to a supply of arms.

The administration of the Earl of Camden has exposed that nobleman to much unmerited obloquy. He was, in fact, a mere cipher in the state. The faction of the ascendancy, strong in their monopoly of every official situation, and having almost exclusive possession of the magistracy and the military, exulting also in their late triumph over Earl Fitzwilliam, laid aside all pretensions to moderation, and treated the country with arbitrary severity, which the Turks, in their wildest freaks of tyranny, could not have exceeded. The system of endeavouring to extort confession by torture—the turning out a licentious and unregulated soldiery at free quarters on a disturbed district—imprisonment for mere caprice, and transportation without trial—were magisterial acts, not merely permitted, but applauded. Lord Carhampton was among the most conspicuous of these active magistrates. He formed an inquisitorial tribunal in several of the western counties; and having, in the absence of the accused, examined the charges against the persons confined on suspicion, he sent on board a tender those who were likely, in the phraseology of the day, ‘to elude justice,’ that is, against whom there was not so much evidence as would satisfy even an Irish jury. The Grand Juries

and Orange corporations warmly thanked the Earl of Carhampton for what they were pleased to term ‘his wholesome severity ;’ and the Irish parliament shielded him from the legal consequences of this open violation of the constitution, by passing an act of indemnity. This was followed by an insurrection act of more than ordinary severity. It was opposed by Lord Edward Fitzgerald, who had not yet lost all hope of saving his country from a furious convulsion. He said, that ‘ nothing would tranquillize the country, but the sincere endeavour of the government to redress the grievances of the people. If that was done, the people would return to their allegiance ; if not, he feared that neither resolutions nor bills would be of any avail.’ His warnings were spoken in vain ; the insurrection and indemnity bills were carried without a division.

A. D. 1796.—Hopeless of parliamentary relief, the United Irishmen overcame their repugnance to foreign aid, resolving to solicit assistance from France ; and Tone was invited to come from America for the purpose. In the course of the summer, Lord Edward Fitzgerald and Mr Arthur O'Connor were sent over to negotiate the terms of a treaty between the Irish and French republics ; but, on account of Lord Edward’s connection with the Orleans’s family, it was deemed imprudent to receive him in France, and the management of the treaty was confided to Mr O’Connor. The expedition prepared by the French government, on this occasion, was of the most formidable description. It consisted of 15,000 picked soldiers, under the command of Hoche, one of the best and bravest of the revolutionary generals. The marine force was not composed of equally valuable materials. Delays of various kinds were inter-

posed, which prevented the fleet from sailing as early as had been intended ; and information is said to have been sent to the Irish leaders, that the expedition would not set out before the ensuing spring. The armament at length sailed on the 15th of December. No British fleet appeared to oppose the progress of the enemy. There were no forces in the south of Ireland that could offer a moment's resistance. But the winds and the waves protected Britain ; the fleet was dispersed over the ocean ; and the small part that arrived in Bantry Bay, was delayed by the indecision of Grouchy, until a tremendous gale, right off shore, arose, and rendered a landing impracticable. A remnant of the shattered fleet returned home ; and Ireland was rescued from inevitable conquest, by chance and the elements.

The defeat of this armament afforded a very favourable opportunity for securing the tranquillity of Ireland, by effecting a reconciliation between the government and the people. The minister must have seen how ill grounded was his confidence in the boasted protection of a British fleet, when the coast of Ireland had been left for a fortnight at the mercy of a hostile navy, and only owed its safety to occurrences that baffle human calculation. On the other hand, the Union began justly to suspect the ambition of the French, when, instead of an auxiliary force, to assist in establishing freedom, they found an armament sent sufficient for the conquest of the country. Impressed with these feelings, the leaders of the United Irishmen, induced Mr Ponsonby to bring forward that plan of tranquillization, whose rejection was, as we have seen, followed by the secession of the opposition. The government had now virtually declared war against its subjects. By raising the war-cry of Protestant ascendancy, it had en-

gaged on its side the prejudiced part of the Protestant population ; and, by promising adherence to the ancient system of misrule, it gained the support of those whom that system had raised from insignificance to wealth and power. In the train of the Insurrection act, followed the suspension of the Habeas Corpus, the proclamation of martial law, and the infliction of horrible torture by military tribunals, on all “ who were suspected of being suspicious.”

The excessive caution of the leaders of the Leinster United Irishmen, saved the government from inevitable ruin in the beginning of 1797. The men of Ulster, now amounting to one hundred thousand men, were eager to commence operations. A numerous body of soldiers in the garrison of Dublin offered to put the conspirators in possession of the metropolis ; and the counties of Leinster were ready to pour in reinforcements from all sides. The neglect of such an opportunity is perfectly inexplicable. The possession of the capital would enable the leaders of the conspiracy to make themselves masters of the entire kingdom in a week, or, at the worst, have placed them in a position for maintaining a powerful struggle until assistance could reach them from France. Despair of effecting their objects without foreign aid, is said to have caused this fatal error, which completely destroyed the unity and the strength of the party. The northerns, disgusted by the timidity of their associates in Leinster, and wearied by the delays of France, began to return to their allegiance ; and the increasing coolness, in some cases nearly amounting to hostility, between the Presbyterian and Catholic members of the Union, finally ruined the cause of the republicans in Ulster.

Ireland was, during the course of this year (1797),

a second time saved to the British empire by the winds and the waves. A powerful armament had been prepared in the Texel ; but it was delayed by the weakness of the French minister of marine, and afterwards by adverse winds, during the favourable period that England remained deprived of her fleet by the mutiny at the Nore. The arrival of Admiral Duncan, with a superior force, and the inexplicable folly of the Dutch in hazarding an engagement, freed England from danger. The victory at Camperdown, one of the most brilliant in the naval annals of Great Britain, effectually prevented the French Directory from executing the promises which they had made to the agents of the United Irishmen.

It became now the deliberate policy of the Irish government—a policy unblushingly acknowledged and defended by the Irish ministers—to goad the people by torture into a premature insurrection, before the organization of the conspiracy would have been so complete as to be irresistible. Martial law was proclaimed in several counties ; a savage soldiery, and a still more savage yeomanry, were encouraged to emulate each other in acts of cruelty ; the tortures of whipping, picketing, half-hanging, and the pitch-cap, were put in active operation ; the huts of the peasantry were burned, their sons tortured or slain, their daughters subjected to all the outrages of brutal passion. Disgusted at witnessing such barbarity, the lamented Abereromby, then in command of the army, published a proclamation, in which he described the Irish soldiery to be so demoralized by licentiousness, as “to be formidable to every body but the enemy.” Finding that no attention was paid to his remonstrances, and that government had resolved to let loose this demoralized army on the people, he re-

signed the command, and was succeeded by General Lake, who was not troubled by such impolitic scruples. The atrocities committed by the army and yeomanry in the counties of Kildare, Carlow, and Wexford, are almost beyond belief; they had the effect of provoking a fearful retaliation. When the peasantry at length had recourse to arms, they showed that they had not been inapt scholars in the lessons of cruelty taught them by the government.

An almost open conspiracy had now existed for nearly two years ; and, notwithstanding all the exertions of the administration, no discovery of the leaders or their plans had yet been made, though immense rewards were offered for information. Chance, however, again favoured the minister. One Reynolds, who had been an active member of the Union, being distressed for want of money, sold the secret to the government, and insured for himself pardon and reward. In consequence of his information, most of the leaders were arrested at Oliver Bond's on the 12th of March ; Lord Edward Fitzgerald, who happened to be absent, eluded pursuit until the 19th of May, when, after a desperate resistance in which he was mortally wounded, he was made a prisoner. The Shearses and others, who had been chosen to fill the places of those arrested at Bond's, were betrayed to government by a militia captain named Armstrong, to whom they had rashly intrusted all their secrets ; and thus the insurrection seemed crushed in the bud by the loss of all its leaders. But the excitement of a people deliberately tortured into rebellion, could not be even thus suppressed. From the papers seized in the houses of the conspirators, it became known to government that the night of the 23d of May was fixed upon for the commencement

of the revolt ; and the alarming intelligence was officially communicated to the Lord Mayor of Dublin, and both Houses of Parliament. A spirited address was voted in reply by the Commons, which was presented to the Lord Lieutenant by all the members, who went in solemn procession to the Castle, with the speaker at their head.

No language can convey even a remote idea of the situation of Dublin at this lamentable crisis. Every man looked with suspicion on his neighbour, dreading death from the disaffected, and tortures worse than death from the faction that had usurped the authority of government. Curran's speech in the case of "Heevey versus Sirr," has made known to the world a few of the outrages perpetrated by those who called themselves exclusively "loyal;" but the horrors of whipping, half-hanging, and pitch-caps, in Beresford's riding-house, have not obtained equal publicity. The infernal system of endeavouring to obtain information by torture practised at this time in every part of Ireland, was no where more zealously acted upon than in the capital. Private revenge frequently urged secret informations against the innocent, and accusation was in every instance followed by punishment without the shadow of previous inquiry. As the French had introduced the fashion of wearing short hair, the adoption of this mode was deemed presumptive evidence of republicanism ; and "Croppy" became the name for all who were, or were supposed to be, disaffected to the government. Many persons who had innocently adopted the fashion were subjected to the pain and degradation of a military flogging ; worse tortures were reserved for those who, at the elections, had been conspicuous in supporting the opponents of government, or had

made themselves notorious by their advocacy of liberal principles. Nor were these horrid exhibitions confined to Dublin. Similar atrocities were displayed in almost every town of Ireland ; for the whole country was now under "martial law," that is, under the control of an infuriate yeomanry and demoralized soldiery.

On the twenty-third of May the insurrection broke out in the counties of Kildare and Carlow. The peasants had no arms but clumsy pikes, and a few guns in bad order ; they were of course easily defeated. At Neas and Kilcullen the Royalists were victorious with little loss, but the insurgents suffered very severely. All the prisoners taken by the soldiers were hanged without ceremony, and there is reason to believe that many shared their fate who had not at all participated in their enterprise. The only part of Kildare in which the insurgents obtained success was Prosperous, where a detachment of the North-Cork militia, headed by Captain Swayne, was surprised and cut to pieces. The captain is said to have been more than ordinarily severe in the infliction of military executions, and to have fallen by the hand of a man whose house he had burned. When the news of these events reached Dublin, the Lord Lieutenant issued a proclamation, giving notice that his "Majesty's general officers had orders to punish, according to martial law, by death or otherwise, as their judgment should approve, all persons acting, or in any manner assisting in the rebellion." It is a lamentable proof of the hardness of heart, and virulent spirit of revenge produced by civil dissensions, to find, when this proclamation was communicated by message to the House of Commons, that Colonel Barry (the present Lord Farnham) actually proposed to give martial law a retrospective effect, and

subject to its operations the state-prisoners in Dublin. Even Lord Castlereagh reprobated such a proposal, and, in pathetic terms, besought his violent supporters not to reduce the nation to despair.

Such moderation was not imitated by others. An ill-concerted and disorderly attack having been made in Carlow, the insurgents were routed with great slaughter, while not a man on the side of the Royalists was even wounded. The slaughter of four hundred assailants was not, however, sufficient to satisfy the loyal desire of vengeance ; more than two hundred captives were executed by martial law. There was one victim among these unhappy men, too conspicuous to be passed over, even in this scanty page. Sir Edward Crosbie, a gentleman highly esteemed by all his acquaintances for his intellectual accomplishments and moral worth, had unfortunately given offence to the ruling party, by expressing sympathy for the oppressions of the peasantry, and an anxiety for reform in Parliament. Being surrounded by the insurgents and made a prisoner previous to the attack on Carlow, he was unable to give the garrison notice of the approach of their assailants. For this misprision he was brought to trial. Catholic prisoners were flogged to obtain evidence against him, and were promised their lives on the simple condition of bearing witness against him. Protestant loyalists were prevented, by military force, from appearing in his favour ; and even after all these exertions, so conscious were the members of the court-martial that the evidence would not warrant his condemnation, that they destroyed the minutes of their proceedings.

The insurgents of Kildare, having suffered several defeats, soon began to despair, and willingly accepted the offers of pardon made to them by General Dun-

des, with the concurrence of the Lord Lieutenant. Several bodies of the peasantry surrendered their arms, received protections, and returned quietly to their homes. A large body that had assembled for the purpose was, however, unexpectedly attacked by a body of military under the command of Sir James Duffe. Wholly unprepared for such an event, the unresisting multitude fled in consternation, and were pursued with merciless slaughter. The chief agents in this massacre were a company of fencible cavalry, denominated Lord Jocelyn's fox-hunters. Their career of carnage was, however, checked by peremptory orders from General Dundas, who sent an express to forbid any attack on the people, as soon as he learned the direction of Sir James Duffe's march.

The cruelties committed by the North Cork militia, by the yeomanry, and a portion of the magistracy in the county of Wexford, provoked an insurrection there, more fierce and calamitous than in any part of Ireland. The tortures inflicted by the military tribunals, were surpassed by those which individuals were permitted to use at their own discretion. A sergeant, nicknamed *Tom the Devil*, from his ingenuity in devising torments, used to put on the pitched cap with melting pitch, which, trickling into the eyes of the victims, added blindness to their other pains. Another invention was, to cut the hair in the form of a cross, close to the roots, and laying a train of gunpowder in the furrow, set it on fire, and repeat the process until human endurance could bear no more. A tall officer in the same regiment acquired the name of *The Walking Gallows*, from consenting to become, on several occasions, a substitute for a gibbet, when it was deemed necessary, in an inconvenient place, to inflict the punishment of half-hanging,

or even death. The deliberate murder of twenty-eight prisoners in the town of Carnew by the yeomanry, in the presence of their officers; the burning of houses and Roman Catholic chapels, superadded to the tortures and whippings, drove the peasantry to arms. They were headed by two priests who sympathized in the sufferings of the people, and were, besides, irritated at the destruction of their own houses. The insurgents were divided into two disorderly bodies, which did not act in concert. One was easily defeated by the yeomen of Carnew; the other was more fortunate, and not only defeated, but cut to pieces a detachment of the North Cork at Oulart Hill. The victorious insurgents next attacked Enniscorthy, which was defended with great obstinacy and gallantry; but the town having taken fire, the Royalists were obliged to retreat to Wexford.

The attack of the insurgents on Wexford must have failed, if the garrison had made any attempt at resistance; but cruelty is usually accompanied by cowardice; and the soldiers, whose excesses had driven the country to arms, fled from the town the moment that an assault was threatened. They left behind them many loyalists whose zeal had led them to commit exasperating outrages, and who were now exposed to the vengeance of a peasantry maddened by oppression and intoxicated with success. Dreadful were the scenes enacted in Wexford while the town remained at the mercy of the infuriate mob; numbers of loyalists were cruelly piked on the bridge; and it was only by the most unceasing exertions of the leaders, that a general massacre of the Protestants was averted.

Newtownbarry was the next object of attack, and, as at Wexford, the military under the command of Colonel L'Estrange, retreated without attempting re-

sistance. The remonstrances of Lieutenant-Colonel Westenra induced the commander to change his inglorious determination ; the soldiers returned to the town, and, unexpectedly assailing the unruly rabble by which it was occupied, routed them with great slaughter. The defeat of a large detachment under the command of General Walpole, threw a momentary gleam over the cause of the insurgents ; but this was more than compensated by their total defeat at Ross, after a long and desperate engagement, during the greater part of which, victory seemed to be in their hands. *

Cowards perpetrated the greatest enormities on both sides. The massacres in Wexford were the work of those who had not courage to share in the perils of the campaign ; and on this occasion, a frightful crime was committed by some runaways from the battle of Ross. A number of loyalists, some of whom were Catholics, had been seized by the insurgents, as hostages for the safety of any of their friends that might be made prisoners, and were confined in the house and barn of Mr King, at Scullabogue. Some of the fugitives from Ross determined on the massacre of all these unfortunate beings ; pleading in their excuse, the example set them by the yeomanry, at Carnew and Dunlavin. The prisoners in the house were shot ; the barn where the rest were confined was set on fire, and all within burned to ashes.

The defeat at Ross was followed by an equally se-

* During the attack on Ross, one of the insurgents advanced to the very mouth of a cannon, and, thrusting his hat and wig into it, exclaimed, " Come on boys, she's stopped ! " at the same instant the gunner applied the match, and the wretched wog blew to atoms.

vere repulse at Arklow. The Royalists owed this victory principally to the skill and valour of Colonel Skerrett, of the Durham Fencibles, but for whom, the town would have been deserted as scandalously as Wexford, and Dublin itself consequently exposed to the most imminent danger. The Wexford insurgents, by this defeat, lost their last chance of success, and were forced to wait inactively until government had collected its strength for their destruction.

Ulster had been, as we have already stated, the parent of the Irish conspiracy; but the disagreement between the leaders of the United Irishmen, the flight of some chiefs, and the arrest of others, had so disconcerted the plans of the Union, that the greater part of the province continued tranquil. When the news of the insurrection in Wexford, however, reached the north, a considerable number assembled in the neighbourhood of Antrim, and, by a furious attack, nearly made themselves masters of the town. Not discouraged by their defeat, they prepared to form an encampment; but, learning that their efforts would not be seconded by the other counties, and that the war in Wexford was assuming a religious character, the malecontents, who were mostly Protestants, threw away or surrendered their arms, and returned quietly to their own homes. Inspired by similar sentiments, a number of insurgents in the county of Down took up arms, and made several spirited attacks on the Royal forces. They were attacked at Ballynahinch by General Nugent; and, after a desperate engagement, in which the success obtained by valour was lost by want of discipline, were finally defeated and irretrievably broken. Thus terminated the insurrection in Ulster; and the government was now able to direct all its forces against the county of Wexford.

CHAPTER XXII.

Suppression of the Insurrection—Its Consequences.

AFTER their defeats at Arklow and Ross, the insurgents of Wexford were reduced to maintain a defensive warfare, their last hope being to protract the contest until succours could arrive from France. Their principal encampment was on Vinegar Hill, a lofty and irregular eminence near the town of Enniscorthy. Here, after the example of the Royalists, they established a revolutionary tribunal, that emulated the cruelties and iniquities of the courts-martial. Some of the victims were persons who had rendered themselves obnoxious by aiding in the wanton infliction of torture, but others owed their fate to secret treachery and malignant insinuation. After the country had remained for more than three weeks at the mercy of the undisciplined half-armed rabble that constituted the insurgent forces, a Royal army of thirteen thousand men, with a formidable train of artillery, advanced against Vinegar Hill, in four divisions. The struggle was of course brief; the insurgents fled after a faint attempt at resistance, making their escape along the line of road destined to be occupied by General Needham's division, which, from some unexplained circumstance, they found wa-

cant. On the approach of the Royal army to Vinegar Hill, the greater part of the insurgent garrison was withdrawn from Wexford. The inhabitants believed this a favourable opportunity of saving the town from the violence both of the insurgents and the soldiery ; waited on Lord Kingsborough, who had been made a prisoner in the beginning of the contest, offering to surrender the town, and to procure the submission of the armed peasantry in the neighbourhood, if security both of person and property was granted to all but murderers. Lord Kingsborough having accepted of these conditions, was placed in command of the town. He immediately wrote an account of the circumstance, and a deputation of the town's people went to procure a ratification of the agreement. To his Lordship's letter, Lake, determined to give his soldiers an opportunity of taking revenge for their former disgraceful abandonment of Wexford, returned no answer. To the deputation from the town, he gave the following reply :—

“ Lieutenant-General Lake cannot attend to any terms by rebels in arms against their Sovereign. While they continue so, he must use the force intrusted to him with the utmost energy for their destruction. To the deluded multitude he promises pardon, on their delivering into his hands their leaders, surrendering their arms, and returning to their allegiance.”

On the faith of Lord Kingsborough's convention, the town of Wexford had already been restored to tranquillity. The army of the insurgents had retired to their camp in the neighbourhood, and was preparing to disperse ; the leaders who had acted with humanity returned to their homes ; while the per-

trators of murder and massacre sought safety in flight. In the meantime the army of the sanguinary Lake was advancing upon Wexford, which seemed devoted to destruction more certain than that of Nineveh. Luckily Sir John Moore, whose humanity equalled his bravery, lay nearer to the town than Lake, and having heard of the convention, advanced to Wexford. The town was quickly garrisoned by a few yeomen ; and Moore, eager to restrain the violence of his soldiers, encamped in the vicinity. Every pretext was thus removed for subjecting the town to the horrors of military execution ; but the leaders, who deemed themselves safe by the convention, were seized, after being subjected to indignities shocking to humanity. The country, however, was abandoned to the tender mercies of Lake's soldiery, and suffered every calamity that lust, rapine, and a ruffian thirst for blood could inflict. It is impossible to give even an imperfect idea of such horrors ; they are unparalleled in the annals of human crime. Courts-martial were then held for the trial of the insurgent leaders. They had trusted to the convention. They deemed that the lives they had saved from the fury of the mob would plead in their behalf. Many of them could prove that their participation in the revolt was produced by compulsion ; but such excuses could be of little avail when innocence itself afforded no protection. With pain we must add, that Lord Kingsborough acted as a member of the courts-martial by whom these men were tried ; and that the Irish Parliament sanctioned the iniquity, by passing acts of attainder and forfeiture against them after their death.

The insurgents, driven to despair by the news of the breach of the convention, hopeless of success, and yet afraid to lay down their arms, proceeded to main-

tain a desultory war, hurrying from county to county through the centre of Ireland, and baffling the Royal army by the celerity of their movements. In this strange warfare, more injury was inflicted on the country in a few days, than it had suffered during the weeks when the insurgents were triumphant. Between these despairing wretches and the brutal soldiery, Ireland must soon have been a desert, but for the lenient policy adopted by the Marquis of Cornwallis, the new Viceroy. He published a proclamation, authorizing the royal generals to grant protections to all who would return to their allegiance, except those guilty of murder ; and thus the most desperate leaders obtained pardon, which had been refused to those comparatively innocent. Generals Hunter, Grose, Gascoyne, and Needham, who were stationed in the county of Wexford, exerted themselves to the utmost, to give full effect to the benevolent intentions of the Viceroy ; and though they could not wholly restrain the excesses of the savage bands of yeomanry and militia, they acquired the confidence of the peasantry, and earned the blessings of a grateful population. Such an effect had this judicious mercy in reconciling the peasantry to the government, that when the news of a French invasion arrived, they offered their services to General Hunter, in an address of equal simplicity and energy, which is preserved in Hay's History of the Wexford Insurrection.

Though the insurrection was confined to Wexford, the 'reign of terror,' established under Lord Camden's administration, extended over the entire south and east. Two instances may serve to illustrate the temper and wisdom of those to whom it had pleased the rulers of Ireland to intrust the de-

times of the country. Thomas Judkin Fitzgerald, High Sheriff of Tipperary, flogged severely a gentleman named Wright, for having in his possession a complimentary note, written in the French language, of which the worthy functionary was unfortunately ignorant. In the town of Youghal, one Desmond, after being severely flogged, was hanged in front of the jail, on evidence which, being obtained by torture, was not above suspicion. His brother, then confined in the prison, was forced to witness the execution ; and soldiers were placed behind him with drawn bayonets, to prevent him from turning his eyes away from the horrid spectacle.

A kind of treaty was made between the Irish government and the state prisoners confined in Dublin. Their lives were spared, on condition of their giving the government every information connected with the conspiracy. A garbled account of their examinations was published ; but still enough was preserved to show, that, if the insurrection was not provoked by the government, it was deliberately waited for and defied. The total loss of property in this calamitous struggle was probably not less than three millions sterling. Of the royal party, about twenty thousand fell ; but not less than fifty thousand of the insurgents were destroyed. The utter demoralization of a great proportion of the triumphant party, was the worst consequence of this lamentable struggle. Men learned to take an infernal delight in the tortures and sufferings of their fellow-creatures. Revenge, bigotry, and all the dark passions that combine with both, were permitted to have full sway. Perjury, and subornation of perjury, were united to evidence obtained by torture. Robbery, murder, and licentious crime, committed with impunity, destroy-

ed every virtuous tie, and every moral obligation. The state of society thus created, could not all at once be changed; and, even now that a new generation has succeeded, the consequences are not quite effaced.

The French Directory, during the continuance of the struggle in Wexford, made no effort to assist their Irish allies; but, late in August, when all disturbances had been suppressed, a small force of eleven hundred men, commanded by General Humbert, landed at Killala, and soon gained possession of the town. General Hutchinson, on the first news of the invasion, hastened from Galway to Castlebar, and soon assembled a vastly superior force. Unfortunately, he was superseded in the command by the arrival of Lake, a circumstance to which, combined with the undisciplined state of the soldiery, must be attributed the disgraceful events that followed. A British army, amounting at least to four thousand men, and supported by fourteen pieces of cannon, fled almost without firing a shot, from eight hundred Frenchmen and about a thousand unarmed peasants, who had no other artillery than one culverin gun. Want of means prevented Humbert from improving his advantages; but he contrived to baffle all the efforts of the English generals, from the twenty-second of August until the eighth of September, when, being nearly surrounded by an army of thirty thousand men, he was forced to surrender. The Irish by whom he had been joined, being excluded from quarter, fled in all directions, and were pursued with great severity. Killala was reduced in about a fortnight after; but the army, on entering it, committed several gross outrages, murdering not only the insurgents, but several unfortunate loyalists

who hastened to greet them as deliverers. This wanton cruelty was the more unjustifiable, as, during the brief contest, not a drop of blood had been shed by the Connaught insurgents, except in the field of battle. The trials by courts-martial followed the success of the Royalists as a matter of course. The fate of the victims drew tears even from their political opponents, for most of those selected for punishment had been conspicuous for their humanity and generosity.

A second attempt, equally absurd and unaccountable, was made by the French in the following month. A small squadron, sent from Brest, was discovered off the coast of Ulster by Admiral Warren, and forced to engage at a great disadvantage. The Hoche of eighty guns, and six frigates, were captured; and thus ended the projects of the French Directory for the liberation or conquest of Ireland.

On board the Hoche, when taken, was Theobald Wolfe Tone, who had rendered himself very conspicuous by the abilities and talents with which he supported the cause of the United Irishmen. It was at first believed that he had fallen in the action — a delusion which the British naval officers, with their usual generosity to a fallen foe, laboured to encourage. The task of discovering him, however, was undertaken by Sir George Hill, a leader of the Orange party, who had been his fellow-student. The French officers, among whom Mr Tone had hitherto passed undistinguished, were invited to breakfast by the Earl of Cavan. While they were seated at table, Hill entered, followed by some police-officers. Looking narrowly at the company, he singled out his victim, whom he addressed with a friendly salutation. Tone was immediately seized by the

police-officers, heavily ironed, and sent to Dublin, where he was tried and condemned by a court-martial. As such a proceeding was manifestly contrary to law, Curran and Peter Burrowes, almost the only barristers that would venture to show sympathy for a victim under "the reign of terror," brought the case before the Court of King's Bench; but, ere their interference could produce any decision, news arrived that Tone had committed suicide.

The British government, in another instance, exhibited the puerile weakness of its vengeance. They caused James Napper Tandy to be arrested at Hamburg, in violation of the laws of neutrality.; but, being alarmed at the retaliation menaced by the French government, they feared to take his life. He was tried at Lifford, condemned, and pardoned on condition of quitting the country.

The lessons that may be deduced from the foregoing pages—the darkest in Irish history—need not now be traced. The numberless and malignant calumnies heaped on all who favoured the projects of the United Irishmen, even at the time when their designs extended no farther than a reform in the representation, and a repeal of disqualifying laws, have sunk into general oblivion, and are now only repeated by a few bigots, whom no experience could improve, no instruction enlighten. The leaders of the original conspiracy sought to dissolve the connexion with England, only because the English government made itself known only as the supporter of that oligarchy by which their country was injured and insulted. The insurgents took up arms, not against the supreme head of the state, but against the dominant faction, in their local legislature, to which the supremacy had been delegated. ... The pu-

riety of their motives, and the rectitude of their intentions, soon received a complete justification. The British minister having permitted the Irish parliament to convict itself of incompetence and intolerable tyranny, compelled it to pass on itself the sentence of condemnation, and assent to its own annihilation. Scarcely had the insurrection ended, when the question of Union began to be agitated. It was at first so decidedly unpopular, that, exhausted as the country had been by the late commotions, its independence might probably have been maintained by arms, had not the minister, by a wonderful mixture of corruption and cunning, effectually broken the strength of the opposition. The measure of Union was rejected in the session of 1799 by the House of Commons; but, by a lavish profusion of bribes, the same house was induced to adopt it in the next session, by a considerable majority. The Catholics were induced to give a species of tacit assent, though certainly with considerable reluctance, by the promise of obtaining their emancipation. Hopes, utterly inconsistent with such a promise, were presented to the violent Protestants; money was liberally bestowed on all who could forward the views of government; and at length, after unparalleled scenes of bribery and deception, the Irish legislature assented to its own destruction, and the Irish nation made no effort to avert its merited fate.

The history of the Irish parliament fully vindicates the justice and policy of the Union, and furnishes the best apology for the disgraceful means used by the British minister to accomplish its destruction. No excuse, however, can be pleaded for the monstrous folly and the at least seeming perfidy, which,

for more than thirty years, prevented the empire from experiencing the benefits of the measure. The patriots deserve some share of the blame which must rest on those who intercepted blessings and entailed calamities. Had they, when they found opposition hopeless, endeavoured to make the conditions of the treaty more equitable, the minister would probably have listened to their suggestions. He would, in all likelihood, have consented that the limited representation of Ireland should be returned by popular election, and removed the anomaly of populous towns and cities, where the franchise is confined to a dozen individuals, nominated by some great proprietor. But in their hostility to the entire measure, the patriots resolved not to meddle with the details ; and thus the old oligarchy contrived to retain a portion of the power that they had already so fearfully abused. By an exquisitely absurd arrangement, the measures for completing the Union were carried in detail, and at long intervals. Ireland continued to have a separate exchequer, a distinct administration, different weights, measures and coins ; the commercial intercourse between the two islands remained subject to fiscal restrictions ; in short, the country was treated as a province, and not as an integral part of the empire. These wise anomalies have been removed ; but the traces of the distinction they created have not yet disappeared. The introduction of steam-vessels—the increased commercial intercourse between the islands—and the removal of irritating restrictions—have, within the last few years, greatly contributed to cement the alliance ; and when English capitalists begin to avail themselves of the amazing facilities which the harbours on the south and west of Ire-

land afford for trade with the Southern and Western worlds, it may fairly be expected that a community, or rather an identity of interest, will arise, and the two nations become, in reality as well as name, a united people.

The breach of faith with the Catholics, by the refusal of emancipation, was the most disastrous error committed by the British administration. To use the words of Fouché, respecting the murder of the Duke d'Enghien, “It was worse than a crime—it was a blunder.” The continuance of political agitation for nearly thirty years—the maintenance of hostility between those who naturally felt anxious to maintain their exclusive privileges, and those who struggled for equal rights—the conversion of every place of public resort into a debating club, where the most exasperating language was used by the orators on both sides—produced a state of society, which must have been witnessed to be understood. Even the termination of this system was marked by the same folly or fatality that caused its continuance. The boon, after being long delayed, was finally conceded in a manner so ungracious, that the obligation lost all its efficacy.

With the Union, our brief view of Ireland’s history terminates. Since that period, with the exception of Robert Emmett’s insane attempt to raise a revolt, which was crushed almost in a moment, there has been nothing in Ireland that could properly be called a civil war. Agrarian insurrections against local grievances and oppressions still occur, which have been hitherto met only by the old remedy of coercive measures; but there is every ground for a confident hope, that the great engine of power for the redress of evils, accumulated through centu-

ries of misrule, will, ere long, be brought forward by a liberal and enlightened administration—"that engine," to use the powerful words of Grattan, "which the pride of the bigot, nor the spite of the zealot, nor the ambition of the high-priest, nor the arsenal of the conqueror, nor the Inquisition, with its jaded rack and pale criminal, never thought of—the engine which, armed with physical and moral blessing, comes forth and overlays mankind by services—the engine of redress." The complete pacification of Ireland, and the application of its resources, to ensure the happiness and prosperity of its people, must be a work of time; but the prospect is bright with promise, and almost consoles us for the afflictions, calamities, and oppressions, of which we have now concluded the painful retrospect.

THE END.



